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BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

THE JEWISH DIASPORA OF THE SIXTH CENTURY BEFORE CHRIST

by

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(A.B., College of the City of Detroit, 1931)

submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

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I

History of the Sixth Century

A. Sources for the History of the Sixth Century B. C.

The first problem that arises in the writing of a history is that of sources. Where can one get good, reliable, first hand material for the task that lies ahead? This question is of the utmost importance in a paper such as we are now undertaking because the period under consideration lies in the far distant past, and for that reason one needs to be exceedingly careful in utilizing any material before a careful examination of it has been made. Upon examination of our sources we find that they automatically fall into three different classes: (1) the Biblical material, (2) the Archaeological data, and (3) the histories of Herodotus and Josephus. Let us carefully examine this data.

1. The Biblical Material

Kings This Biblical material will be dealt with, as far as possible, from the viewpoint of its chronological bearing upon our history, and the first source that falls under our observation is that of Kings which was originally an undivided work, but later became divided into two divisions which we now know as I and II Kings. These books must have been written during, or shortly after, the Exile; because it brings the history down to the fall of the monarchy and the Exile (586 B. C.), and II Kings relates the release of Jehoiachin in 561 B. C. with a subsequent summary of his life. "Moreover, I Kings 4:24 was written by one to

whom Gaza is beyond the River (Euphrates), i. e. by one who, probably having settled as a captive in Babylon in 597 or 586 B. C., was at the time living east of the Euphrates."¹ One may find other references to the life of the Exile but the significant thing is that there is not any mention of a return, so we may safely say that it must have been written by an exile in Babylon before the return in 538 B. C.

The part that we are chiefly interested in is the latter part of II Kings which deals with the life of Judah just preceeding the exile, and this, we may say, seems to be quite valid because the writer is writing from his own personal knowledge of events, or at least, he is receiving reliable first hand data from those who did witness the events. For the earlier part of his history he is dependent upon sources, but seeing that this does not fall within our period we shall dismiss it.

Jeremiah The Book of Jeremiah is classed as a prophetical book, but nevertheless it is rich in references to certain events of our period which make it a valuable source. The book as we now have it is not the product of one individual as it has previously been thought. Evidence of this is shown in the fact that the book closes with an extract from Kings which refers to the release of Jehoiachin (561 B. C.) in Babylon, and if we take the earlier chapter as correct, Jeremiah was probably dead, having died some time before in Egypt. Jeremiah began to Prophecy in 626 B. C. and he must have been at that time a young man of about twenty-one.

One of our greatest difficulties in dealing with his book is the absence of any chronological principle which would help us definitely place the chapters in relation to the happenings; as it now is they are

1. Gray, Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 76.

where there is beyond the River (Hepherston), a. d. 17, one who, probably
having settled as a settler in Babylon in 1817 or 1818 A. D., was at the
time living west of the river. I am not sure that other references to
the life of the father and the significance of the fact that there is not any
mention of a return, as we may safely say that it must have been written
by an exile in Babylon before the return in 1818 A. D.

The part that we are chiefly interested in is the latter part of
it. It shows which family also the life of father just preceding the exile,
and this, we say, seems to be quite valid because the writer is writ-
ing from his own personal knowledge of events, or at least, he is repeat-
ing the reports of those who did witness the events. The
entire part of his history is so abundant with names, and so
that this does not fall within our period we shall mention it.

Introduction The Book of Jeremiah is divided as a prophetic book,
but nevertheless it is rich in references to certain events of our period
which make it a valuable source. The book as we now have it is not the
product of one individual as it has previously been thought. Evidence to
this is shown in the fact that the book agrees with an extract from Isaiah
which refers to the release of Jehoiachin (2nd Ch. 36) in Babylon, and it
is also the earliest chapter in the book, Jeremiah was probably born, per-
haps about some time before the exile. Jeremiah began to prophesy in 605 B.
C. and he must have lived at least a young man at about twenty years.
One of our greatest difficulties in dealing with this book is the
absence of any chronological period which helps us definitely
place the chapters in relation to the phenomena; as it now is they are
.....
1. Jeremiah, Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 15.

all thrown together and mixed up; however, broadly speaking, we can gather much from the contents of this book in spite of all of its faults, although we must admit that it is a collection of certain materials existing at the time of writing. This fact alone helps to account for the disregard of chronology.

We might briefly summarize the history of the book by saying that the prophet's teachings of twenty-three years were summarized in a book, which contained autobiographical matter that was written in 604 B. C., but soon destroyed, with the result that it was re-written. Jeremiah taught until 586 B. C. and continued his teaching after he was taken away to Egypt. All through this period his disciples listened to his teachings and probably recorded his thoughts; but all of these writings, as well as any Jeremiah had written, suffered great interpolation and rearrangement when they were collected into a single book.

The parts of the book which are of special interest to us are:

(1) Chapter 24 where the conditions existing between the first and second deportations are described and the character of the people carried away with Jehoiachin is revealed; (2) Chapter 29 which is his pastoral letter to those in Babylon, telling them to prepare for a long stay; (3) Chapter 44 which reveals the conditions of the Exiles in Egypt where Jeremiah bitterly condemned them for their disloyalty to Jehovah; (4) Chapter 50:2 - 51:58 which deal in prophecy with the destruction of Babylon and which clearly reflects an age subsequent to Jeremiah and was probably written by one of his disciples.

Ezekiel The book of Ezekiel is undoubtedly a product of the priest Ezekiel and was written by him in Babylon in the first part of the

all things together and which are, however, probably speaking, we are given
or from the same source of this book is made of all of the things, all-
though we must admit that it is a collection of certain materials rather
long at the time of writing. This fact alone helps to account for the
disorder of chronology.

We might briefly summarize the history of the book by saying that
the present's contents of twenty-three years were contained in a book,
which contained the original material that was written in 602 B. C.,
and was destroyed, with the result that it was re-written. Jeremiah
lived until 582 B. C. and composed his prophecy after he was taken to
Babylon. All through this period his prophecies continued to be
written and probably recorded his thoughts; but all of these writings
as well as his Jeremiah and others, suffered great destruction and re-
arrangement when they were collected into a single book.

The order of the book which we of special interest is as follows:
(1) Chapter 1-2 where the conditions existing between the first and second
destruction are described and the character of the people is described
with Jerusalem is revealed; (2) Chapter 3-23 which is his personal letters
to those in Babylon, calling them to prepare for a long stay; (3) Chap-
ter 24-29 which reveals the conditions of the people in Babylon where Jerem-
iah is placed; (4) Chapter 30-33 which is prophecy with the destruction of Babylon and
602 B. C. - 582 B. C. which deal in prophecy with the destruction of Babylon and
which clearly reflects an eye witness to Jerusalem and was probably
written by one of his disciples.

Jeremiah The book of Jeremiah is undoubtedly a product of the
first century and was written by him in Babylon in the first part of the

sixth century B. C. He was taken captive in 597 B. C. and lived, "on the banks of the river Chebar" among his fellow captives. His work began in 592 B. C. and ended about 570 B. C.; the whole book being well documented and about the only one in the Old Testament that has a consistent unity. It is practically all written in the first person and carries the same style throughout.

The book falls into four distinct sections, that are all of great value in our study, they are woven around two closely related subjects - the approaching fall of Jerusalem, and the restoration of Jerusalem after the fall. Chapter 1 through 24 record his feelings in regard to the degraded moral and political conditions in Jerusalem before its final fall, and only occasionally do we get a suggestion of the conditions of the life that he is living in Babylonia. Chapters 25 to 32 are devoted, for the most part, to foreign prophecies written at the time of the fall of Jerusalem. Further, this section deals somewhat with the restoration of Jerusalem and the Jewish community. He here reveals his belief that the real preservers of the religion of Yahweh are in Babylon. The next section of the book, chapters 33 through 39, give us the best historical source for the earlier part of the exile, that is, it gives us the best picture of the life in Babylon during the first half of the exilic period. The last part, 40 through 48, gives Ezekiel's conception of the new Jerusalem after the people have been reestablished. The thing that makes this book of vital importance to us is that it contains first hand information from a man who reveals the life of the time in which he lived. His sources were his own experience and nothing else could be more valid; therefore we must retain the book as one of our most reliable and best sources.

which century B. C. He was taken captive in 607 B. C. and lived "in the house of the river God" among the Chaldean captives. His work began in 562 B. C. and ended about 540 B. C.; the whole book being well harmonized and about the only one in the Old Testament that has a revealed unity. It is essentially all written in the first person and carries the same style throughout.

The book falls into four distinct sections, that are all of great value in its study. They are woven around two closely related subjects - the approaching fall of Jerusalem, and the restoration of Jerusalem after the fall. Chapter I through 25 records his feelings in regard to the destruction of Jerusalem and political conditions in Judaea before the fall, and only incidentally do we get a suggestion of the conditions of the time that he is living in Babylon. Chapters 26 to 32 are devoted, for the most part, to foreign prophecies written at the time of the fall of Jerusalem. Further, this section deals somewhat with the restoration of Jerusalem and the Jewish community. It here reveals the belief that the restoration of the temple of Jerusalem was in Babylon. The next section of the book, chapters 33 through 49, gives us the best historical source for the earlier part of the exile, that is, it gives us the best picture of the life in Babylon during the first half of the exile period. The last part, 50 through 52, gives a conception of the new Jerusalem after the people have been reestablished. The thing that makes this book of vital importance to us is that it contains first hand information from a man who reveals the life of the time in which he lived. His account was not an experience and nothing else could be more valid. Therefore we must retain the book as one of our most reliable and best sources.

Deutero-Isaiah Since the belief that the whole book of Isaiah was written by the prophet Isaiah of the eighth century has been broken down, modern criticism has divided the book up into several divisions covering many centuries of Jewish life and history. The evidence that Isaiah was written by several authors is unmistakably clear when the style and language are examined. Then, as further evidence, one needs only to examine the events recorded and see that they are of different centuries.

Here we must utilize the findings of modern criticism and give our facts from their findings. The exilic elements in the book of Isaiah are principally two: (1) Isaiah 13:2 to 14:23 and (2) Isaiah 40-55 with the most important being the latter, which we now know as the period of Deutero-Isaiah. However, before looking at that section, let us look at the former.

"Even a cursory reading of Isaiah 13:2 to 14:23, furnishes conclusive evidence that its historical background is the Babylonian exile. Already Babylon, which in the days of Isaiah was, like Judah, a vassal state subject to Nineveh, has passed the zenith of its power and is declining. The author bids his fellow exiles unite in a song of exultation over the impending destruction of this harsh taskmaster, who has so long oppressed them (14:3-23); for his fall means for them restoration to their native land and the rebuilding of their destroyed temple."¹ The language, Gray thinks, has more of an exilic tone and tends to point toward exilic authorship.

The section known as Deutero-Isaiah (40-55), has been established without a doubt, to be of the latter years of the exile. "There is only

1. Kent, History of the Jewish People, p. 7.

Deuterio-Jewish Since the belief that the whole book of Isaiah was written by the prophet Isaiah of the eighth century has been broken down, modern criticism has divided the book up into several divisions covering many centuries of Jewish life and history. The evidence that Isaiah was written by several authors is undoubtedly clear when the style and language are examined. Then, as further evidence, one needs only to examine the events recorded and see that they are of different centuries. Here we must utilize the findings of modern criticism and give our facts from their findings. The entire elements in the book of Isaiah are principally two: (1) Isaiah 1:1 to 14:32 and (2) Isaiah 40-55 with the most important being the latter, which we now know is the period of Deuterio-Jewish. However, before looking at that section, let us look at the former.

"Even a cursory reading of Isaiah 1:1 to 14:32, furnishes conclusive evidence that its historical background is the Babylonian exile. At twenty Babylon, which in the days of Isaiah was, like Judah, a small state subject to Assyria, has passed the zenith of its power and is declining. The author bids his fellow exiles in a song of exhortation over the impending destruction of this hated oppressor, who has so long oppressed them (1:1-32); for his fall means for them restoration to their native land and the rebuilding of their destroyed temple." The language, Gray thinks, has more of an exilic tone and tends to point toward exilic authorship.

The section known as Deuterio-Jewish (40-55), has been established without a doubt, to be of the latter years of the exile. "There is only

one period in the history of Israel which answers to the scene of this prophecy, and that is the period from 550 to 539, when Cyrus of Media was advancing to the conquest of the now rapidly decaying empire of Babylon."¹ A prophet always spoke to the people of his day and the contents of this section certainly belong to this exilic period because it refers: (1) to the Jews as being exiles in Babylon and that they shall shortly return; (2) Jerusalem is now in waste, but it shall be rebuilt; (3) Babylon is now powerful, but it shall soon fall; (4) Cyrus is already well known and from all implications he has united Persia and Media, but has not yet fulfilled the prophecy of his capture of Babylon.²

From this evidence one can readily see that this section was written between 549 and 538 B. C. by one who was experiencing that which he was writing; therefore, we have again first hand information, which for the most part, covers the latter part of the exile and will be valuable as a primary source.

We might mention here the theory that Torrey has advanced for Deutero-Isaiah. He believes that many sections other than 40-55 compose the work of this prophet. He would class Chapters 34, 35, and 40 to 66 under one writer known as the Second-Isaiah which passages were written about 400 B. C. "I think we may conclude, with some confidence," Torrey writes, "that the Second-Isaiah composed these poems not long after the year 407; we may take for convenience the round number 400."³ This theory, however, has received little recognition which is undoubtedly due to the way in which he shows the Great Cyrus right out of the picture, and his denial of

1. Lofthouse, Israel After the Exile, p. 113.

2. Gray, Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 185.

3. Torrey, The Second Isaiah, p. 109.

one point in the history of Israel which answers to the scene of this
prophecy, and that is the period from 600 to 587, when Cyrus of Media
was returning to the conquest of the new kingdom of Babylon and the kingdom
of Assyria. A prophet of Israel spoke to the people of his day and the contents
of this section certainly belong to this entire period because it refers
(1) to the Jews as being exiles in Babylon and that they shall shortly re-
turn; (2) Jerusalem is now in waste, but it shall be rebuilt; (3) Babylon
is now powerful, but it shall soon fall; (4) Cyrus is already well known
and from all indications he has raised Persia and Media, but has not yet
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was writing; therefore, we have again that most important, which for
the next part, covers the latter part of the exile and will be valuable as
a primary source.

It might mention here the theory that Torrey has advanced for Dan-
iel's date. He believes that some sections were written before 587 B.C. and
others after. He would date chapters 1, 2, 3, and 4 as 587 B.C. and
the other books as the Second-Temple which chapters were written about
400 B.C. "I think on my whole, with some confidence," Torrey writes,
"that the Second-Temple chapters were written about 400 B.C. and the
other books for comparison the same number 400." This theory, however,
has received little recognition which is undoubtedly due to the way in
which he shows the great Cyrus right out of the picture, and the date of

1. Introduction, Israel, from the Bible, p. 111.
2. Prophecy, Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 110.
3. Torrey, The Second Temple, p. 110.

the edict restoring the Jewish exiles to Palestine, and the subsequent return, which is backed by Chronicles. He terms all of this as the Cyrus-Babylonian allusion and speaks of the return as the supposed-Return. Because of these denials, which Biblical criticism has taken years of careful research to establish, Torrey has been as the lone wolf in the wilderness and we shall not use his theory in our study.

Obadiah This book, which is the shortest of all the prophetic books, is one that has been most difficult to place, both, in regard to the time of writing and the period which it covers; but modern criticism has brought out two or three factors which help one in getting a clearer conception of it. Practically a third of this book occurs, with slight textual variation, elsewhere in the Old Testament, particularly in the latter part of Jeremiah and if we take this part of Jeremiah to be exilic in character we are led to believe that Obadiah is probably a product of the exile as well. It also contains allusions to foreigners entering into and casting lots on Jerusalem, which can best be explained if placed after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B. C. For this reason it is considered by some, and with good reason, to be a book which gives us the pitiful conditions of Palestine during the exilic period, because the Edomites entered Palestine at this period and greatly humiliated those living there. The book, therefore, predicts the destruction of Edom because of their degrading treatment of Jehovah's people, and this will all come about in the great day of Yahweh. This northward movement of the Edomites took place about the first part of the sixth century; therefore, if these two facts are brought together, we again have evidence that the book of Obadiah was probably written during the exile or shortly after. Gray states that the

descriptive elements of the book greatly resemble those of Malachi, and if this means anything it would bring its writing down to the beginning of the fifth century. Thus, because of the great uncertainties in regard to this book, one hesitates about placing too much faith in it as a primary source, although, on the other hand, it does throw some light upon the conditions of Palestine following 586 B. C.

Lamentations Obadiah, as we have just seen, portrays, to some extent, the condition of Palestine during the exile and Lamentations will fall, to some degree, under the same category. It gives us vivid pictures of the destruction of Jerusalem and the feelings of the scattered exiles regarding that event. The book has been attributed to Jeremiah, but upon careful examination of its content and literary style one sees that this tradition is not only incorrect, but that it is not even a product of one pen. This last fact is brought out clearly in a detailed study of the literary style and the absence of vivid touches in chapters 1, 3, and 5, which we find in 2 and 4. Chapters 2 and 5 are thought to be products of a man who had actually passed through the siege of Jerusalem in 586 B. C. When we consider the date of the remaining chapters, we have a more difficult problem, but that they are a product of the later years of the exile seems certain. However, the vital thing to remember is that it is, for the most part, practically contemporaneous with the events which it records. This fact makes it of vital importance as a primary source, especially chapters 2 and 5.

Chronicles - Ezra - Nehemiah We come to a group of four books as we now know them, but which were originally one. They are probably all from the pen of one man and reveal the life which lay many years behind him.

descriptive elements of the book greatly resemble those of the 19th century, and it
this means nothing is being said about the writing down of the legends of the
19th century. These legends of the 19th century are regarded as being
book, and legends about writing are much like it as a primary source,
although, on the other hand, it does have some light upon the conditions
of legend following 19th A. D.

Legend Legend as we have just seen, legends, to some
extent, the tradition of legend during the 19th and 20th centuries is
fall, to some extent, under the same category. It gives us a clear picture
of the tradition of legend and the legend of the 19th century, and upon
regarding that event. The book has been attributed to the 19th century, but upon
careful examination of its content and literary style we find that the
tradition is not only incorrect, but that it is not even a product of the
19th. This fact is brought out clearly in a detailed study of the
literary style and the absence of vivid content in chapters 1, 2, and 3,
which we find in 2 and 4. Chapters 2 and 3 are thought to be products of
a man who had actually passed through the stage of legend in 19th A. D.
that we consider the date of the remaining chapters, we have a fine picture
of the problem, but that they are a product of the later years of the 19th
century. However, the vital thing to remember is that it is, for the
most part, practically contemporaneous with the events which it records.
This fact makes it of vital importance as a primary source, especially
chapters 2 and 3.

Chronicles - 19th - 20th We come to a group of four books as
we now know them, but which were originally one. They are probably all
from the pen of one man and record the life which lay away from the 19th

We must here remember that the book was written about 300 B. C., which is about two hundred years after the life in which we are interested and for this reason we are skeptical about their value as a primary source of the first class. At this period the religious life of the people was very ritualistic and highly developed, therefore, the writer writes his times into the history of the centuries behind him. Whenever he quotes a source, such as the Aramaic document, he projects his own thought into it, which detracts from its historical value. When he gives us the Edict of Cyrus for the return of the Jews to Palestine, he gives it through colored glasses. At this point, we must remember that the writer of Chronicles was not primarily interested in history, but his chief aim was to give the religion of his people and that at any cost; therefore this will greatly detract from these works as a primary source. Kent has well summed up the characteristics of this man and his book when he says: "The characteristics of the author, who is commonly designated as the Chronicler, are well known. He was an ecclesiastic rather than a historian. His primary aim in writing was to emphasize the institutional side of Israel's history. He lived in an age which idealized the past. Like his contemporaries, he unconsciously read the institutions and conditions of his own day into the earlier and more primitive periods, since he did not fully realize that Israel had enjoyed a progressive religious development, extending through many centuries. The result is that the original contributions of the Chronicler are of value to the discriminating historian, chiefly as they reveal the conditions of the later time."¹ Oesterley says, "One has but to compare the conditions described there (Chronicles - Ezra - Nehemiah) with those in Haggai

1. Kent, History of Jewish People, p. 101-102.

he must have remembered that the book was written about 1890 B.C., which is
about two hundred years after the life in which we are interested and for
this reason we are skeptical about their value as a primary source of the
time. At this period the religious life of the people was very
ritualistic and highly developed, therefore, the writer writes his things
into the history of the country as being the history of the people. However he gives a reason
and as the reader knows, he projects his own thought into it, which
defects from the historical value. When he gives us the list of names
for the return of the Jews to Palestine, he gives it through a list
of names. At this point, we must remember that the writer of Chronicles
was not primarily interested in history, but his chief aim was to give the
religious of his people and that is why now; therefore this will greatly
defect from these works as a primary source. But he will sound up the
characteristics of this man and his book when he gives: "The characteristics
of the author, who is extremely designated as the Chronicler, are well known.
He was an ecclesiastic rather than a historian. His primary aim in writing
was to emphasize the institutional side of Israel's history. He lived in
an age which idealized the past. Like his contemporary, he unconsciously
read the institutions and traditions of his own day into the earlier and
new primitive conditions, since he did not fully realize that Israel had en-
joyed a progressive religious development, extending through many centuries.
The result is that the original conditions of the Chronicler are of value
as to the dominating historical, which as they reveal the conditions
of the later time." Oesterley says, "One has but to compare the condi-
tions described there (Chronicles - Ezra - Nehemiah) with those in Isaiah

and Zechariah (works covering same period and historically valid) to see that while it contains the reminiscences of some things that happened, as a whole it is unhistorical".¹ To demonstrate this with but one illustration, although there are many; in the Darius decree, a decree confirming that of Cyrus, is here presented with elements which cannot be considered historical. As it is given in Ezra 6:6-12 it states that the temple will be built from "the king's goods, even the tribute beyond the river", this in and of itself would be acceptable, but Haggai and Zechariah give no mention of it, and they would have recorded such an important decree, if anyone had; because they are the ones who mention only the poverty-stricken conditions of the people at that time (Haggai 1:6, 8-11).

From these brief statements one can easily see that the Chronicler's writings have at their base valuable material historically, but it has been mixed up and so confused that it is practically impossible to get a clear conception of the course of events. "The prime object of the Chronicler has been to prove that the rebuilding of the Temple was undertaken by the exiles as soon as, or very soon after, they returned. It was inconceivable to him that anything should stand in the way of this, and he manipulated his sources accordingly; but he was not sufficiently careful in omitting what was in disagreement with his point of view."²

Haggai and Zechariah I and through VII From the very uncertain records of the Chronicler, we now turn to a history of these early years of the return, as found in Haggai and Zechariah and because of their exact dating we are led to believe that they are reliable. In fact, it is

1. Oesterley and Robinson, A History of Israel, Vol. 2, p. 80.

2. Ibid., p. 81.

and Gauthier (see the preceding page) and the latter is not
 that while it contains the remains of some things that happened, it
 is a whole in itself. To demonstrate this with one illustration
 then, although there are many in the Syrian desert, a house containing
 that of Syria, is here presented with elements which cannot be separated
 from it. As it is given in two parts it is evident that the people will
 be able from this king's words, even the entire beyond the river, the
 in and of itself would be impossible, but I have not hesitated to
 mention it, and they will have recorded such an important matter, it
 appears just; because they are the ones who mention only the poverty-stricken
 on condition of the people of that time (page 10, 11-12).

From these brief statements one can easily see that the Chronicle's
 writers have at their feet valuable material. However, it is not
 mixed up and so confused that it is practically impossible to get a clear
 conception of the course of events. The prime object of the Chronicle
 has been to prove that the rebellion of the Temois was ordered by the
 exiles as soon as, or very soon after, they returned. It was necessary
 able to him that anything would stand in the way of this, and he would
 have the sources accordingly; but he was not sufficiently careful in
 stating what was in disagreement with his point of view.²

Harold and Gauthier: I and through VII From the very uncertain
 records of the Chronicle, we are thus to a history of these early years
 of the nation, as found in Harold and Gauthier and because of their want
 being we are led to believe that they are reliable. In fact, it is

1. Gauthier and Robinson, A History of Lower, Vol. 2, p. 60.
 2. Ibid., p. 61.

through these two books that we get a knowledge of the historical truths revealed to us in the Chroniclers' works.

The book of Haggai contains the arguments and prophecies with which he endeavored to spur the people on to the completion of their Temple. We cannot be too dogmatic as to whether Haggai, wrote this book or one of his disciples, because frequent references to the prophet in the third person tend toward a belief in the latter; but that the book was written shortly after 520 B. C., and that it has suffered little from textual revision in later centuries is well established.

The first eight chapters of Zechariah consist of his teachings in the years 520-518 B. C. and are, as I stated above, accurately dated. "We may assume that Zechariah prepared his own resume of his public teaching (1:2-6, 14-17; 2:10-17; 4:6-10a; 7:3; 8:23), and himself wrote the account of his visions which constitute the remaining and chief part of his book. Possibly Zechariah wrote chapters 1-6 in 519 B. C., and added chapters 7f. in 517; there is no clear thing in the events of the book that would say that it was written after Zerubbabel had failed to maintain his position, and still more to fulfil the Messianic expectations of Haggai and Zechariah."¹ (see bottom of page 12 for this reference)

The value of these two books for our study is of the utmost importance because they are so accurately dated and written by men who experienced what they recorded; thus we have a primary source of the first class for the years immediately following the return and rebuilding of the Temple.

Trito-Isaiah These last few chapters in the book of Isaiah (56-66) show a great difference and point of view from the preceeding chapters known as the work of Deutero - Isaiah. Here we have an entirely new outlook on life, the Temple has evidently been rebuilt and the people seem to

through these two books that we get a knowledge of the historical background

revealed to us in the "Introduction" works.

The book of Daniel contains the arguments and prophecies with which he endeavored to spur the people on to the completion of their Temple. He cannot be too diligent in his warning, and he writes this book or one of his disciples, because frequent reference is made to the Temple in the book. The book is divided into two parts: the first part is written shortly after 530 B. C., and the second part is written some time later. The book is well established.

The first of the chapters of Daniel consists of his teachings in the years 530-539 B. C. and are, as I stated above, somewhat dated. The second part of the book, which is the most important, is the account of his visions which consist of the remaining and third part of the book. Possibly Daniel wrote chapters 1-6 in 530 B. C., and the chapters 7-12 in 517; there is no other thing in the events of the book that would say that it was written after 517. Daniel had failed to maintain his position and still more to fulfill the prophecies of Daniel and the other. (See bottom of page 12 for this reference)

The value of these two books for our study is of the utmost importance because they are so accurately dated and written by men who experienced at first hand the events of the first exile of the Jews. The years immediately following the return and rebuilding of the Temple.

First part - These last two chapters in the book of Daniel (12-13) show a great difference and point of view from the preceding chapters. As the years of Daniel - 530-539 B. C. - have now almost entirely passed, look on life, the Temple has evidently been rebuilt and the people seem to

be slipping into a careless attitude toward their religious ideals which were so strong during the period of rebuilding the Temple. As historical material they are extremely valuable because they are first hand information; but the difficulty is in placing them as to their date. Another factor which enters in here is that unity of authorship cannot be claimed for these chapters. We shall hear more of this as we go along.

The earliest portions of these few chapters, 57:14-21 and 60-63:6, seem to be extremely close to the years just before the Return. In fact, they are closely allied to Deutero - Isaiah through their diction and spirit, especially 57:14-21. Further resemblance is found in the reference to a near return of the people and a glorification through rebuilding. Thus these two sections tend to point toward the years preceding the Return. However, after one leaves these two sections out, the remaining pieces of Isaiah 56-66, with but few exceptions, tend to fit into the period of 516-444 B. C., the period immediately following the completion of the Temple and the coming of Nehemiah. Herein lies one of the darkest periods of Hebrew history as far as our knowledge of it is concerned.

The reasons for the belief that this section belongs to the post-exilic period are:²

- (1) 56:1-3 is a piece complete in itself and independent of any other material around it. It gives a clear reference (vs. 5) to the Temple as having been completed and a universal note is struck which will best fit into this period.
 - (2) 56:9-57:13 is not so easy to place, but it indirectly refers to worship in the Temple, and that it was written in Palestine is shown in 57:4-8, hence it must have been post-exilic. It
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1. Gray, Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 277.
2. Oesterley and Robinson, A History of Israel, Vol. 2, p. 105; Kent, History of Jewish People, pp. 112-114; ibid., (1), pp. 181-185.

be allowing into a nucleus which would then develop into a whole. It is not clear from the text whether this is a process of growth or of transformation. The text is very faint and difficult to read.

factor which enters in here is that unity of authority cannot be claimed for these chapters. We shall have more of this as we go along.

The earliest portions of these two chapters, 5:1-14 and 5:15-26, seem to be extremely close to the years just before the return. In fact,

they are closely allied to Daniel - Isaiah through their date and spirit, especially 5:14-21. Further resemblance is found in the refer-

ence to a near return of the people and a finalization through rebuilding. Thus these two sections seem to point toward the years preceding the re-

turn. However, after one leaves these two sections and the remaining places of Isaiah 55-66, with the exception, none go into the per-

iod of 535-539 B.C., the period immediately following the completion of the Temple and the ending of Babylonian. Which has one of the darkest

periods of Jewish history as far as our knowledge of it is concerned. The reasons for the belief that this section belongs to the post-

exilic period are:

(1) 55:1-5 is a phrase which is itself an independent of any

other material around it. It gives a clear reference (vs. 5)

to the Temple as having been completed and a universal note is

given which will bear it into this period.

(2) 55:9-13 is not so easy to place, but it is undoubtedly refer-

to worship in the Temple, and that it was written in Babylonian

is shown in 57:4-6, hence it must have been post-exilic. It

speaks of degrading religious conditions which Nehemiah strongly condemned.

(3) Chapter 58 is also a piece of work complete in itself. The Temple has been rebuilt (verse 2) and the walls are still in ruins (verse 12). These elements place it without question between 516 and 444.

(4) Chapter 59 is of two distinct sections: 1-15a and 15b-21, and were probable combined by a later writer, who did not see their different spirits and subject matter; but that they both belong to this period seems possible from the lawless conditions; although they could well fit into the period following Nehemiah. Therefore, the dates of this chapter are uncertain and it cannot be used with much certainty.

(5) Chapters 65 and 66 again seem to point to conditions that existed before Nehemiah in the idolatrous worship and other elements that would not be tolerated by him.

(6) One final section 63:7-66:12 is in such a period of great uncertainty that it could not be used by us. It could be placed either before or after Nehemiah, although scholars tend toward the attitude that it was before, but we shall draw upon it sparingly.

Further evidence need not be called forth to show that Isaiah 56-66 has many pens contributing to it, and that it, for the most part, belongs to the period before Nehemiah and after the completion of the Temple; therefore, as a primary source it is valuable only in so far as it suggests the earlier existence, that is the sixth century of similiar situations and conditions

speaks of heretical religious conditions which Sebastian strongly
condemned.

(3) Chapter 55 is also a place of work complete in itself. The
Temple has been rebuilt (verse 2) and the walls are still in ruins
(verse 12). These elements place it without question between 518
and 528.

(4) Chapter 56 is of two distinct sections: 56-12 and 56-13, and
were probably composed by a later writer, who did not yet realize
different sources and subject matter; but that they both belong to
this period seems possible from the latest conditions; although
they could well fit into the period following Theodosius. Therefore
the date of this chapter are uncertain and it cannot be used with
much certainty.

(5) Chapters 57 and 58 again seem to point to conditions that ex-
isted before Theodosius in the religious worship and other elements
that would not be affected by him.

(6) The final section 59:1-12 is in such a period of great un-
certainty that it could not be used by us. It could be placed
either before or after Theodosius, although scholars tend toward
the attitude that it was before, but we shall draw upon it sparingly.

Further evidence need not be called forth to show that Justin 5-58
has many points corresponding to 56, and that 56, for the most part, follows in
the period before Theodosius and after the completion of the Temple; therefore
as a primary source it is valuable only in so far as it suggests the earlier
existence, that in the sixth century of similar religious and conditions

which it reveals for the fifth century

Malachi Only one other source remains for this dark period from 516 to 444 in the small book of Malachi. The author is unknown but that he lived after the Temple had been rebuilt is clear and that he lived before Nehemiah is also brought out. His condemnation of defiling the temple with incorrect sacrifices is shown in 1:10 and 3:1. Further references to incorrect sacrifices are: 1:7, 8, 10, 12, 13; 2:13-3:8, all of this reveals a period preceeding Nehemiah's reform. Further, its failure to distinguish between Priests and Levites brings out its pre-Nehemiah authorship. Finally its ignorance of the Priestly Code of Ezra and great knowledge of the Deuteronomic Code is further evidence of its being written between 516 and 444. Thus we have here first hand evidence which will be of great value for the closing years of our century.

2. The Archaeological Data

Fortunately, indeed, we are no longer wholly dependent upon the Biblical material alone for the knowledge of our earlier history; because during the last century there has been a great revelation to the world through the work of the spade, which has uncovered ancient civilizations that were hitherto undreamed of. One remarkable thing which has come with this great work of archaeology has been a new strengthening of faith in the Biblical records that we possess; because in most all cases our biblical records coincide perfectly with the fruits of archaeology. Let us briefly survey the few inscriptions that we possess, dealing with this century that we now have under consideration.

Necho of Egypt (609-593 B. C.) Our first inscription is one of Pharaoh-Necho, who defeated King Josiah, of Judah, at the battle of Megiddo and is recorded in II Kings 23:29f. Through this battle he naturally secured the ruling hand in Judaea (II Kings 23:24) and put Jehoiakim on the throne. However, the Pharaoh himself was defeated by Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon in 604 B. C. A part of the inscription which we possess that shows his historicity will be well to quote: "Year 16, fourth month of the first season, day 16, under the majesty of Horus: Wise-hearted; king of Upper and Lower Egypt; Favorite of the two goddesses; Triumphant; Golden Horus; Beloved - of the - Gods; Uhemibre; Son of Ra, of his body, his beloved; Necho, living forever, beloved of Apis, son of Osiris."¹

Nebuchadrezzar (604-562 B. C.) Nebuchadrezzar became King of Babylon in 604 B. C. at the death of his father. At that time Nebuchadrezzar was conducting a campaign near Egypt and he hurried home when he received the news of his father's death and then began a long and powerful reign. "Unhappily, very few inscriptions have been preserved in which there are any accounts of his great military campaigns, the major part of them all being devoted to elaborate accounts of the building and restoration of temples, palaces, streets, and canals all over the country. The meagerness of native inscription material forces us to depend chiefly upon the narratives of the Hebrews for an account of the chief events of his reign."²

In one short inscription he covered all the campaigns he ever conducted:

"In exalted trust in him (Marduk) distant countries, remote mountains from the upper sea (Mediterranean) to the lower sea (Persian Gulf),

1. Barton, Archaeology and the Bible, p. 439

2. Quoted from Brested, Ancient Records, Egypt, Vol. 4, p. 498.

Notes of Egypt (1898-1899 A.D.) Our first inscription is one of

hieratic script, who defaced King Amenhotep, of Thebes, at the battle of Megiddo and is recorded in 11 Kings 23:29-31. Through this battle he naturally secured the ruling hand in Judaea (11 Kings 23:31) and his inscriptions on the throne. However, the Pharaoh himself was defeated by Nebuchadnezzar of Babylonia in 604 B.C. A part of the inscription which we possess that bears the date of the battle will be well to notice: Year 16, fourth month of the first year, day 16, under the majesty of Amenhotep, King of Egypt and Lower Egypt; favorites of the two gods; Amenhotep; Golden Horus; before us - of the - gods; Amenhotep; for of his, of his body, his beloved; Amenhotep, living forever, beloved of Amen, son of Geb.

Nebuchadnezzar (604-562 B.C.) Nebuchadnezzar became King of Babylon

in 604 B.C. at the death of his father. It is the same Nebuchadnezzar who conducted a campaign near Egypt and he married her when he received the news of his father's death and then began a long and powerful reign. Very few inscriptions have been preserved in which there are any accounts of his great military campaigns, the major part of them all being devoted to elaborate accounts of the building and restoration of temples, palaces, streets, and canals all over the country. The fragments of native inscriptions which we possess as to depend chiefly upon the narrative of the Hebrews for an account of the chief events of his reign.

In our first inscription he covered all the country in one day.

defeat:

It is also true in his (Nebuchadnezzar) distant countries, remote places.

also from the upper and (Nebuchadnezzar) to the lower sea (Nebuchadnezzar).

steep paths, blockaded roads, where the step is impeded, (there) was no footing, difficult roads, desert paths, I traversed, and the disobedient I destroyed; I captured the enemies, established justice in the lands; the people I exalted; the bad and evil I separated from the people."¹

One other inscription of his military campaigns is given of his conquest of Lebanon which is more detailed. It was carved on the rocks at the side of one of the deep valleys of the Lebanon.

The remainder of our inscriptions relating to this great Babylonian king are records of building activities which have for the most part been proved valid by the uncovering of buildings, etc., that he built.

Evil-Merodach (562-560 B. C.) Only one inscription of this king has been found and that was inscribed on an alabaster vase found at Susa, to which the Elamites had at one time carried it as booty:

"Palace of Amil-Marduk, King of Babylon, son of Nebuchadrezzar, King of Babylon."²

Nabonidus (555-538 B. C.) Of this king we retain considerable information through various archaeological discoveries. The most important of these is what has been called the Nabonidus Chronicle which is in four sections that were found at the four corners of the temple of Sin at Ur. It is this chronicle that we get our earliest mention of Cyrus from the north. The chronicle is:

"In the 9th year Nabuna'id was at Tema. The son of the king, the princes, and soldiers were at Akkad. The king did not come to Babylon in Nisan, Nebo did not go to Babylon. Bel did not go out. The festival sacrifice was omitted. They offered sacrifices in Esagila and Ezida on

1. Barton, Archaeology and the Bible, p. 439. 2. Ibid., p. 441.
Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament, p. 364.

sharp pains, bloodshot eyes, more the more it is used, (more) was no
 feeling, difficult to walk, heavy pains, I continued, and the bloodshot
 I continued; I continued the same, established justice in the house; the
 people I excused; the bad and evil I separated from the people.

One great inscription of his military campaign is given at his con-
 quest of Lebanon which is now detailed. It was carved on the rocks at the
 side of one of the deep valleys of the Lebanon.

The remainder of the inscriptions relating to this great Babylonian
 king are records of building activities which have for the most part been
 proved valid by the uncovering of buildings, etc., that he built.

Bell-Babylonian (555-539 B.C.) Only one inscription of this king
 has been found and that was inscribed on an alabaster vase found at Susa,
 to which the Elamites had at one time carried it as booty.
 "Belshazzar of Bell-Babylon, King of Babylon, son of Nebuchadnezzar,
 King of Babylon."

Nebuchadnezzar (555-539 B.C.) Of this king we retain considerable in-
 formation through various archaeological discoveries. The most important
 of these is what has been called the Nebuchadnezzar Chronicle which is in four
 sections that were found at the four corners of the temple of Sin at Ur.
 It is this chronicle that we get our earliest mention of Cyrus from the
 north. The chronicle is:

"In the 3rd year Nebuchadnezzar was at Susa. The son of the king, the
 prince, and soldiers were at Susa. The king did not come to Babylon to
 Susa, he did not go to Babylon. He did not go out. The festival
 sacrifice was omitted. They offered sacrifices in Susa and Susa on

account of Babylon and Borsippa, that the land might prosper. On the fifth of the month, Nisan, the mother of the king, died in Dur-karashu on the bank of the Euphrates above Sippar. The son of the king and the soldiers mourn three days. In the month Sivan there was mourning for the king's mother in Akkad.

In the month Nisan, Cyrus, King of Persia, mustered his soldiers, and crossed the Tigrus below Arbela and in the month Iyyar went to the land of . . . its king he killed, he took his possessions. His own governor (?) he placed in it . . . afterward his governor (?) and a king (?) were there."¹

Other inscriptions of this king remain but this will suffice to show their value to our study.

Cyrus Cylinder Probably one of our most important inscriptions is this one of Cyrus' in regard to his capture of Babylon. It confirms the statement of Chronicles that Babylon was conquered without a blow, which was contrary to the Jewish expectations. It shows that there must have been a policy of transporting a conquered people because he issues orders for those people to return. Cyrus won his new subjects through kindness and love instead of the usual method of fear. It is because of this order for a return, many scholars believe, that Ezra 1 has its record of Cyrus' edict to the Jews. Many claim it has been freely interpreted as a special order to the Jews, but more of that later in our study, for now we know that Cyrus did permit the people who desired to return and that this cylinder is of vital importance to us in our paper.

1. Barton, Archaeology and the Bible, p. 442-443.

Elephantine Papyri At Elephantine, an island at the first cataract of the Nile, in 1895 there was a group of Papyri uncovered and in 1903 their contents were first revealed. They date between 494 B. C. to about 4000 B. C. and, although, they fall outside of our century they are of great value in reflecting back to our period to show us the life then. For instance, one of them tells that Cambyses found a temple of Jehovah in Egypt at the time of his conquest there in 525 B. C. The documents throw great light on the various phases of the Jewish life in Egypt and open up new knowledge which had hitherto been undreamed of. We shall see their great value to our study when we come to survey the life of the Jewish remnant in Egypt during the exilic period.

3. Histories

Herodotus In judging the value of any historian we must consider several things, but of these the most important are his sources and his intellectual honesty. Of course, with a man such as Herodotus, we must further consider the thoughts of the days, such as superstitions, philosophies, and other elements that would tend to mold the thought and hence color his record of the history he wrote.

Herodotus for the most part endeavored to secure eye-witness testimony and if he could not secure that he was skeptical about it, although we do find elements creeping into our history which can well be doubted, but these are for the most part due to the belief in mythology and superstitions. For instance, Herodotus says that Cambyses went into Egypt on an expedition on the advice of an eye-doctor. Hence many small elements are found in his history which are doubtful, but for the most part the major movements recorded are trust-worthy and reliable because he did draw

Herodotus Report to Herodotus, as related at the first session of the committee, in 1885 there was a group of English university and in 1893 their contents were first revealed. They date between 450 B. C. to about 400 B. C. and, although they fall outside of the century they are of great value in reflecting back to our period so close as the 11th century. For instance, one of them tells that Herodotus found a temple of Artemis in Egypt at the time of his conquest there in 450 B. C. The documents throw great light on the various phases of the Jewish life in Egypt and open up new knowledge which has hitherto been unknown of. We shall now turn to our study when we come to survey the life of the Jewish people in Egypt during the exile period.

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considerably from inscriptions and primary sources that he knew were valid. Monuments, pillars, and various tablets are often spoken of by him as he writes his history but for the most part "he drew his information from men, thus deriving his knowledge of the most ancient times at second-hand. Conscious of his absolute dependence in such cases on the truthfulness of his authorities, he endeavored everywhere to derive his information from those best skilled in the history of their native land, but there he was met by many difficulties - some received his advances coldly, others wilfully misled him - a few made him welcome to their stories, but in these stories the historical and the remote were so blended together, that it was beyond his power to disentangle them. The consequence is that in the portion of his history which has references to foreign countries and to more ancient times, the most valuable truths and the merest fables lie so often side by side."¹ Thus when he tells of ancient times he has truth and fable intermingled but when he comes nearer his own time he is better informed and can balance the evidence to reach his own conclusions. The traditions of the ancient worlds must be used with the greatest caution; but the accounts of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, and Persia as well as Greece, have been for the most part derived from first hand sources, which are of great value and should be given great attention. In minute details the accounts may err but the general outline is undoubtedly of great value, although truth may even be embodied in the smaller details which were recorded on documents now lost to us.

To summarize their value is to say that "critical judgment must separate in them the probable from the improbable; but whatever comes under the former head, and is not contradicted by better authority, may be well

1. Rawlinson, Herodotus, Vol. I, p. 56.

received as historical, at least until fresh discoveries shall at once disprove its truth, and supply us with more remote details to substitute in its place."¹

Josephus One other history that will contribute to our study is that of Josephus, one which supplements the biblical sources to a great extent. Josephus was born in Jerusalem about 37 A. D. and received an education which was second to none during his day. He wrote as a Partisan Jew which colors his works to a great extent, because history was not his primary aim; therefore one must allow for his exaggeration as well as omission of certain facts uncomplimentary to his race. However, even in spite of his many defects he has preserved valuable facts which are no longer available elsewhere. The exilic period is treated in his treatise, "Against Apion" and he there cites extra-biblical material from sources, which for the most part, are not now available. The principle one is Berosus, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, and translator of a history of Babylon into Greek which has been substantiated by later discoveries.² Thus his works are of great value in reconstruction of Babylonian and Persian history, but in regard to his own race he should be treated with caution.

1. Rawlinson, Herodotus, Vol. 1, p. 56.

2. Kent, History of the Jewish People, p. 14.

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B. From the Fall of Assyria to the Fall of Judah

1. Signs of Decay and the Fall of Assyria

Sprinkled along the wastes of the centuries behind one can see the majesty of the great nations that once were rich in the spoils of time, and this century which we are now to view is indeed as Tennyson once said, one of the richest of "the eternal landscapes of the past". Just before the dawn of the sixth century internal unrest was rapidly bringing the downfall of the great Assyrian Empire. Egypt was endeavoring to make a return among the nations by supporting anyone that she thought would further her cause; but the once powerful Egypt was rapidly passing into oblivion. Babylonia was looming upon the horizon as the bright star of the east, but its glory was only to last a few short years; because a mightier was to come embodied in the Great Cyrus and leave Babylonia, as Assyria had been left only a few short years before, a wreck upon the ruins of time. What was left of the once powerful kingdom of the Hebrews was struggling to eke out an existence among the nations against great adversity. The small kingdom of Judah was the battle grounds for the world, Judah was the buffer state between the great kingdoms of the north and those of the south, and the armies usually would pass through her territory on their way to battle.

The period from the fall of Samaria to the fall of Jerusalem, as I have hinted, sees Assyria reach its height in power but also her fall. During this entire period (722-586 B. C.) Assyria is constantly terrorizing Judah and all of the smaller states up to about 650 B. C. when real complications arise which begin to bring about the downfall of the Assyrian Empire. At this time there is a general revolt extending from Elam to the Mediterranean in which Judah joins. In 626 B. C., at the death of

Ashurbani - pal, the various states set out in real earnestness to assert their independence. Nabopolassar, as the ruler of Babylon, first asserted his independence, and he was closely followed by Media in the northeast, Phoenicia and Palestine in the west, as well as other parts. "Two sons of Ashur - bani - pal reigned in turn; under the second, a long drawn-out struggle ensued; Assyria was supported by Egypt and the Scythians, while Nabopolassar allied himself with Cyaxares, king of the Medes; the Scythians, however, soon after proved false to Assyria and joined forces with Nabopolassar and the Medes."¹ Further light has been thrown upon this campaign by a newly discovered Babylonian Chronicle² which records two victories of Nabopolassar over the Assyro - Egyptian armies in 616 B. C. as well as a defeat before the city of Ashur. The Medes in the next year, 615 B. C., conquered the eastern province of Assyria; in 614 B. C. the combined Babylonian and Median Armies encircled Nineveh and failed to conquer it; however, they were not so easily repulsed because in 611 B. C. they returned and captured the city. Seemingly this would have ended the empire but in spite of the loss of their capitol they struggled on. Their position, according to this chronicle, was shifted about one hundred miles west of Nineveh to the city of Harran while their leader Ashur - bani - pal, assumed the crown.

The kingdom of Judah endeavored to carry on its national life during these difficult times, and what independence they did enjoy as a kingdom was due to the occupation of Ashur - bani - pal with the uprisings that we have just noted. This so-called freedom was not to last long because Josiah sought to interfere with Pharaoh - Necho on his way to the support

1. Oesterley and Robinson, History of Israel, Vol. 2, p. 8.
2. Barton, Archaeology and the Bible, pp. 491-494.

of the Assyrian army against Nabopolassar in 608 B. C. "Pharaoh - Necho, king of Egypt, went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates, and king Josiah went against him; and Pharaoh - Necho slew him at Megiddo, when he had seen him."¹ The people of Judah "took Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah, and anointed him king in his father's stead."² Judah, however, was not now a vassal state of Assyria, but of Egypt; and when they put Jehoahaz on the throne without the consent of the Pharaoh, the new king was imprisoned "at Riblah in the land of Hamath",³ and the land was put under a tribute of a hundred talents of silver and ten of gold. This imprisonment of Jehoahaz in Riblah, evidently the Egyptian king's headquarters, was only of a short duration. He was later carried by the king into Egypt when the Pharaoh fled there before Nabopolassar, and it is simply recorded that he died there.⁴

It is interesting here to note that Jehoahaz had an elder brother who was the rightful heir to the throne. The solution as to the reason the younger brother was put on the throne instead of Eliakim, the elder brother, has been offered that Eliakim favored a pro-Egyptian policy and the people did not; hence their anointing of Jehoahaz as king.⁵ This would account for the sequel, because in place of Jehoahaz, Pharaoh - Necho placed Eliakim upon the throne, giving him the name, Jehoiakim, to show that he was a vassal of Pharaoh - Necho.

1. II Kings 29:29

2. II Kings 29:30

3. II Kings 23:33

4. II Kings 23:34

5. Oesterley and Robinson, History of Israel, Vol. 2, p. 26.

of the Egyptian army against Sargon in 722 B.C. Sargon - Sargon, king
of Egypt, went on against the king of Egypt to the river Nile, and
king Sargon went against him; and Sargon - Sargon also him at Sargon, when
he had seen him. ¹ The people of Sargon, Sargon, the son of Sargon,
and Sargon of his king in his father's stead. ² Sargon, however, was not now
a vessel state of Egypt, but of Egypt; and when they put Sargon on the
throne without the consent of the Sargon, the new king was imprisoned at
Sargon in the land of Sargon, ³ and the land was put under a tribute of a
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1. II Kings 19:36
 2. II Kings 19:37
 3. II Kings 19:38
 4. II Kings 19:39
 5. Sargon and Sargon, History of Israel, Vol. 2, p. 25.

2. The Rise of Babylon - Subjugation of Assyria and Egypt

In the meantime things had been happening up in the north country. Nabopolassar was continually attacking the weakened Assyrian king and the surrounding cities during the year of 611 B. C. with minor success, but never once did he endeavor to attack the new Assyrian capitol. However in 610 B. C., the Scythian army, from southern Russia, and the Medes joined Nabopolassar with the purpose of an attack upon the city of Harran. The Egyptians had evidently planned upon arriving in time to support Assyria in the struggle to maintain the city, but for some reason they were detained and did not arrive in time; because Assyria's intention of joining the Egyptian army had failed. The next year, 609 B. C., the combined Assyrian and Egyptian armies came back with the intention of recapturing Harran; but they were unsuccessful and had to withdraw to Carchemish on the Euphrates, where they evidently remained four years in peace. In 605 B. C. Nebuchadrezzar started to attack this center of the Assyro-Egyptian army and drove the Egyptians clear into their homeland, leaving the Babylonians in control of the land. Berosus, a great scholar of this period, claims that Nebuchadrezzar received word at Pelusium that his father had died and that there was a rival claimant to the throne. He immediately went home, arriving there on the New Year's Festival where he proclaimed himself king of Babylon.

Assyria had now been completely destroyed; Egypt lay practically at the feet of Babylon and was not again to be heard of until Hophra (588-569 B. C.) attempted to gain influence in Asia by tempting King Zedekiah of Judah to rebel against Babylon; Syria and Palestine were now a part of the Babylonian Empire; the Median Empire occupied the north and north-east.

Palestine Under Babylonian Rule The defeat of Necho had made

Judah a Babylonian vassal-state, but let us first go back to the crowning of Jehoiakim in 608 B. C. and see what has been happening in Judah down until the year Babylon becomes supreme. Jehoiakim endeavored to remain loyal to Egypt, because he realized that only through alliance with that country could he maintain power. He was young, only twenty-five, and continued his reign for eleven years; but during this reign the people suffered heavy taxation, as it is recorded; "Jehoiakim gave the silver and gold to Pharaoh, but he taxed the land to give the money . . . he exacted the silver and the gold from the people of the land . . . to give it unto Pharaoh - Necho".¹

Jeremiah adds more distress to the picture when he shows him to be of great extravagance in his own living, which added more burden to that which the people already bore; further, he was a cruel oppressor: "Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by injustice; that useth his neighbors services without wages, and giveth him not his hire; that saith, I will build me a wide house and spacious chambers, and cutteth him out windows; and it is ceiled with cedar and painted with vermillion. Shalt thou reign by vieing with cedar? Did not thy father eat and drink, and do justice and righteousness and it was well with him? He judged the cause of the poor and needy; then it was well with him. Was not this to know me, saith Jehovah? But thine eyes and thy heart are not but for thy covetousness, and for shedding innocent blood, and for oppression, and for violence to do it."²

Jeremiah twenty-six and thirty-six, which follow, show that there were two parties in the state which made ruling very difficult and trying for Jehoiakim. Jeremiah in his condemnation of the king was not alone, but it took deep insight, as well as, great fearlessness to

1. II Kings 23:35

2. Jeremiah 22:13-17

stand before a king and condemn him as Jeremiah did.

However, even at a great price, the reliance upon Egypt was not to last, because in 605 B. C. at the battle of Carchemish, Nebuchadrezzar gained a victory over Pharaoh - Necho which made the Chaldean power supreme over the world, and Egypt was left weak and defenseless. Jeremiah, referring to Egypt, said: "The nations have heard of thy shame, and the earth is full of thy cry; for thy mighty man hath stumbled against the mighty, they are fallen both of them together."¹

Now Jehoiakim, as I have already inferred, was responsible to Nebuchadrezzar and as long as he remained loyal to him he was left in peace, but he could not so easily forget his Egyptian friend who had given him the throne, so the Egyptian party continually grew in power and only three years after Nebuchadrezzar had taken the land Jehoiakim "turned and rebelled against him. And the Lord sent against him bands of Chaldaeans, and bands of Syrians, and bands of Moabites, and bands of the children of Ammon, and sent them against Judah to destroy it."² "The fact would seem to be that when Nebuchadrezzar had defeated the Egyptians at Carchemish and returned to his own country, he left a small army of occupation in Syria; this army, reinforced by bands from small vassal states, was sent against the rebel king, but they were evidently not strong enough to subdue Jehoiakim, since nothing further happened for the present. Nebuchadrezzar must, presumably, have been too much occupied in other parts of his empire to come himself. At any rate it was not until 597 B. C. that he took firmer steps to deal with his Judean vassal."³

Jehoiakim evidently died before his master came to punish him; because we

1. Jeremiah 46:12 (see whole chapter).

2. 11 Kings 24:1-2.

3. Oesterley and Robinson, Vol. 2, History of Israel, p. 23.

stand before a king and declare him as Jehovah's anointed.
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last, because in 600 B. C. at the battle of Carchemish, Nebuchadnezzar
gained a victory over Sennacherib - a victory which made the Chaldean power un-
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earth is full of thy cry; for thy might was weak and thy strength is
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Jerusalem evidently died before his master came to punish him; because he

1. Jeremiah 38:18 (see whole chapter).
2. II Kings 24:1-2.
3. Isaiah and Jeremiah, Vol. 2, History of Israel, p. 22.

have it recorded that Jeconiah, called Jehoiachim, was on the throne when Nebuchadrezzar arrived. We cannot be dogmatic about the way Jehoiachim died, because the records differ; in II Kings 26:6 it is simply recorded that "he slept with his fathers" which implies a peaceful death, and that he was buried in the garden of Uzzah (597 B. C.). II Chronicles 36:6 states that "Nebuchadrezzar, King of Babylon, bound him in fetters to carry him to Babylon." The probability here is that II Chronicles is based on II Kings 25:7, where it is recorded that Zedekiah was bound and carried away into Babylon. Then, interesting enough, we have the fearless Jeremiah prophesying that he was buried beyond the gates of Jerusalem. Then he boldly cries out again against this king by saying "his dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost."¹ We must remember in viewing these prophecies of Jeremiah's that he and the king were anything but friendly, so in the view of their attitude toward each other, it does not necessarily follow that these prophecies came true. Viewing all of these statements in regard to the death of Jehoiachim it seems best to accept the evidence of II Kings 26:6 and the Septuagint of II Chronicles 36:8 and conclude that he had a peaceful death; further II Kings 24:3 tends to prove the fact that Jehoiachim was dead and buried before Nebuchadrezzar came to punish Judah.

First Deportation - 597 B. C. As I have already stated Jehoiachim's son, Jehoiachin succeeded him on the throne, although his reign was to last only three months. He was only a lad of eight years, so his mother, Nehushta, was the real monarch. Jeremiah did not sanction a woman ruling so he thundered out against her for the brief period which Jehoiachin did

1. Jeremiah 36:30

have it recorded that Nebuchadnezzar, called Nabuchodonosor, was on the throne when Nebuchadnezzar arrived. He cannot be accurate about the very things he died, because the records differ; in II Kings 24:18 it is simply recorded that "he slept with his fathers" which implies a peaceful death, and that he was buried in the garden of Uzza (2 Kings 24:20). II Chronicles 36:20 states that "Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, bound him in fetters to

carry him to Babylon." The probability here is that II Chronicles is based on II Kings 24:18, where it is recorded that Nebuchadnezzar was bound and carried away into Babylon. Then, interesting enough, we have the fact less furnished prophesying that he was buried beyond the gates of Jerusalem. Then he boldly tries to again against this king by saying "his

head only shall be cast out in the day of the Lord, and in the night of the Lord." He said therefore is stating these prophecies of Jeremiah's that he and the king were anything but friendly, as in the view of their attitude toward each other, it does not necessarily follow that these prophecies were true. Viewing all of these statements in regard to the death of Nabuchadnezzar it seems best to accept the evidence of II Kings 24:18

and the judgment of II Chronicles 36:20 and conclude that we had a peace-ful death; further II Kings 24:20 seems to prove the fact that Nabuchadnezzar was dead and buried before Nebuchadnezzar came to Jewish Babylon.

What Translation - 2 Kings 24:18 As I have already stated Nabuchadnezzar's son, Nabuchodonosor succeeded him on the throne, although the text was not just only these words. He was only a lad of about seven, as his mother, Belshazzar, was his real regent. Nabuchodonosor did not mention a word of being so he translated out against her for the brief period which Nabuchodonosor did

hold the throne. Disloyalty to Babylon, as it had been under Jehoiakim, continued, so the Babylonian army, led by the king's officers appeared at the gate of the city. Jehoiachin readily saw the folly of resistance so "Jehoiachin, the king of Judah, went out to the king of Babylon, he, and his mother, and his servants, and his princes, and his officials."¹ They surrendered this way in the hope of mercy, and mercy was granted in-so-far as no one was slain; but otherwise mercy was negligible; because Nebuchadrezzar, who had arrived since his armies had appeared at the city gates, plundered the palace and the temple of their treasures, and carried many off to captivity into Babylon. This was the first leading away into captivity of the Hebrews. Here the great exile of Jewish history begins; here also we have the beginning of the vital turning point of Jewish religion. This took place in the eighth year of Nebuchadrezzar's reign which would therefore be 597 B. C. This deportation is recorded as follows: "And he carried away all Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even ten thousand captives, and all the craftsmen and the smiths; none remained, save the poorest sort of people of the land. And he carried away Jehoiachin to Babylon; and the king's mother, and the king's wives, and his officers, and the chief men of the land, carried he into captivity from Jerusalem to Babylon. And all the men of might, even seven thousand, and the craftsmen and the smiths a thousand, all of them strong and apt for war, even them the king of Babylon brought captive to Babylon."²

If one were to closely analyze this passage two or three things would stand out. There is much repetition in the passage which can be

1. II Kings 24:12
2. II Kings 24:14-16

explained, either by the fact that it is the fusion of two sources, or some later editor added to the original account. Further, one must not take the number of people quoted too seriously, because the number of people led away is comparatively small¹ and the statement that only the poorest of the people were left does not stand up when one sees that in only eleven years they were able to secure people capable of holding important and responsible positions. People are not educated that fast, so there must have been some people of high standing left. Nothing whatsoever is said of the priesthood being carried away into captivity, so their leadership would undoubtedly have been extremely valuable and of the greatest importance in rebuilding the government.

Jehoiachin was imprisoned at Babylon and remained there for thirty-seven years or more; then he was released by Evil-Merodach, Nebuchadrezzar's son and successor. The release took place in 563 B. C. after which he was kindly treated for the rest of his days.² During the early part of the exile, Jeremiah refers to him: "Say unto the king and to the queen-mother, Humble yourselves and sit down; for from your heads is come down the crown of your pride."³ "Is he an image despised and broken, this man Coniah? Is he a vassal wherein is no pleasure? Wherefore was he cast out, hurled forth into a land that he knew not?"⁴

This stroke was a crushing one but it, by no means, ended the kingdom, because they continued for nearly ten more years. It seems, as Carleton Noyes in his Genius of Israel - in speaking of Israel's persistence, has said that "the tenacious spirit of its race, which adversity could not break, but rather seemed to strengthen"⁵ kept them going. The

1. II kings 25:18-19

2. II Kings 25:27-30; Jeremiah 52:31-34

3. Jeremiah 13:18

4. Jeremiah 22:28

5. Noyes, Genius of Israel, p. 259

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...was later added to the original manuscript. Further, one must not
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...and said that "the ... spirit of the race, which ...
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conqueror set upon the vacant throne of Judaea, Mattaniah, a son of Josiah,¹ the uncle of Jehoiachin. He was carried into exile where Nebuchadrezzar probably trained him to do his bidding, then after giving him the oath of allegiance and changing his name from Zedekiah to Mattaniah, sent him back to Jerusalem to take charge.² As the other kings before him, he was a young man twenty-one years old, only three years older than his deposed nephew. His rule however "was strictly limited to the territory about the capitol and this remained the Judah of later times. He was forced to swear a solemn oath by Yahweh to be loyal to his new lord; that he might be ever mindful of his oath, his name was changed to Zedekiah, Righteous is Yahweh".³

Now that Jerusalem was again at peace, they settled down to see where their future was to lead them. The land was stripped of many of the best people, and for a time all must have seemed lost, probably the people even wondered if Yahweh might not be deserting them; but underneath it all came a feeling of reassurance, because the temple was still standing, and Yahweh had promised to be with them as long as they had a temple in which to worship. However, an interesting episode took place at this time in communication between the exiles and those who remained in Jerusalem. Some of those in Babylon looked for a speedy return to the homeland; their prophets even assured them of it; and when they looked upon the recent fate of Assyria they were convinced that no nation could withstand the mighty will of Yahweh. Such reasoning as this undoubtedly led them to look for the early downfall of Babylon, but when Zedekiah sent messengers to Jeremiah the latter sent this message back: "Build houses and dwell in

1. I Chronicles 3:15

2. II Kings 24:10-12, 15-18; Jeremiah 34:7; Ezekiel 17:13.

3. Olmstead, "History of Palestine and Syria", p.

them, plant gardens and eat their fruits, take wives and beget sons and daughters. Seek the peace of the land to which I have exiled you, pray to Yahweh for it, for in its peace you shall have peace. Let not your prophets and diviners deceive you, harken not to the dream they dream, for they prophecy falsely in my name, I have not sent them."¹ There it was that Jeremiah contradicted the hopes voiced by the prophet Hananiah of the Exile. This message was carried by messengers to Babylon and delivered first to Nebuchadnezzar² then to the exiles themselves where its reception was anything but friendly. Those in Babylon hoped to return with Jehoiakim as king and such news from Jeremiah was undesired, so they sent a message back to Zephaniah, the priest, who was bidden to imprison Jeremiah for having sent such a message; but such action was not taken. Probably one reason why Jeremiah went untouched was that the priesthood feared him because the king was on his side, and he clearly saw that he would gain nothing by having Jehoiachin take over his throne; further they must have seen that it would be folly to set up an anti-Babylonian policy. This episode was thus closed and nothing more developed from it.

However, another movement which did cause great difficulty soon set in. A coalition had been formed by the neighboring states of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon with the main object of concentrating their forces in a revolt against Babylon. These kings sent ambassadors to Zedekiah urging him to join them. Here we must first understand the position in which Zedekiah was placed. If he refused to join them there would be great danger of their attacking him to make him help in the revolt; on the other hand, if he did join, there was almost certain ven-

1. Jeremiah 29:1-9

2. Jeremiah 29:3

them, many gardens and eat their fruit, take wives and have sons and daughters. And the peace of the land to which I have called you, pray, is yours for it, for in its peace you shall have peace. And not your prophets and diviners deceive you, for they have said to the dream they dream, for they prophesy falsely in my name, I have not sent them. And there is was that Jeremiah contradicted the signs which were given by the prophet Hananiah of the King. And this message was carried by messengers to Babylon and delivered first to Nebuchadnezzar, then to the other officials who were in Babylon. And they were very friendly to him. And those in Babylon hoped to return with Jeremiah as king and with him from Jerusalem was undisturbed, so they sent a message back to Jeremiah, the priest, who was hidden in the garden. Jeremiah for having sent such a message; but such action was not taken. Probably the reason why Jeremiah was not returned was that the king feared him because the king was on his side, and he clearly saw that he would gain nothing by having Jeremiah back over his crown. Further they must have seen that it would be folly to set up an anti-Babylonian policy. This episode was then closed and nothing more developed from it. However, another movement which did cause great difficulty was set in. A coalition had been formed by the neighboring states of Egypt, Assyria, and others with the main object of concentrating their forces in a revolt against Babylon. These kings sent emissaries to Jeremiah urging him to join them. Here we must first understand the position in which Jeremiah was placed. It is related in Jeremiah that he would be great danger of their attacking him to make him help in the revolt; on the other hand, if he did join, there was almost certain ruin.

geance by Nebuchadrezzar. Zedekiah immediately turned to Jeremiah, as he often did, for his advice, and it was indeed fortunate for the king that he had a man such as Jeremiah as his advisor. Jeremiah answered by saying that Yahweh had granted the lands of the earth to the king of Babylon and all the revolting nations would be punished while those who submitted would be permitted to remain in their own land in peace.¹

This ended the revolt for the present, but evidently Nebuchadrezzar heard of it because he either called Zedekiah to him, or he went on his own initiative to explain matters², but the visit closed the whole incident.

The dating of these incidents is made "in the fourth year of his (Zedekiah) reign,"³ which would be 593 B. C. From 593 until 590 we have no information of what was happening in Judah. But in 590 B. C. the Egyptian king, Psammeticus II, undertook an invasion of Palestine. The reason for the invasion, its result, or anything more about it we do not know, "it is referred to only incidentally in a papyrus discovered at Hibbeh, on the right bank of the Nile in 1898."⁴ We surmise, however, that it was another attempt on the part of the Pharaoh to regain a footing in Palestine and it must have failed, although there can be little doubt but that it prepared the way for the next invasion of Babylonia in 588 B. C. This invasion of 588 brought dire disaster to Egypt as well as Palestine. Ezekiel tells us that Zedekiah now rebelled against the king of Babylon "in sending his ambassadors into Egypt, that they might give him horses and much people."⁵ Ezekiel 21 tells further that both Ammon and Judah revolted at this time. Probably, both were strongly influenced by Egypt.

1. Jeremiah 27:2-11

2. Jeremiah 51:59

3. Jeremiah 27:1; 28:1; 51:59

4. Quoted from Oesterley and Robinson in Catalogue of the Papyri in the John Rylands, F. L. Griffith

5. Ezekiel 17:15.

Jerusalem was divided on the value of this Egyptian revolt. Naturally the Egyptian party welcomed Hophra, the new Egyptian king with open arms; but the Babylonian party could see nothing but the doom of Judah. Egypt in reality had nothing to lose, but all to gain; on the other hand, Ammon and Judah had practically nothing to gain and everything to lose. It made little difference who won since they would still be vassal-states. Nebuchadrezzar did not delay; he set out immediately to punish the revolting nations and settle his affairs with Egypt. Nebuchadrezzar came to the crossroads which lead to his revolting people. One to Ammon and the other to Jerusalem; one to the east coast and the other to the left, the east of Jordan. The nation he should chastise first he left up to the Gods, Ezekiel has pictured it all very well: "Also, thou son of man, appoint thee two ways, that the sword of Babylon may come; they twain shall come forth out of one land; and set up a signpost at the head of the way, to each city, for the sword to come against Rabbah of the children of Ammon, and against Judah and Jerusalem in the midst of her. For the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination; he shook the arrows to and fro, he consulted the teraphim, he looked in the liver. In his right hand was the lot of Jerusalem."¹ The result was that Jerusalem should be punished first, so we now have the mighty Babylon marching upon what is left of the once powerful Hebrew kingdom and that small fragment will soon be chalked up as a nation that once had been.

Second Deportation - 586 B. C. In 588 B. C. we have Nebuchadrezzar setting up his head-quarters in Riblah, on the Orontes² "and it came to pass in the ninth year of his reign (Zedekiah's), in the tenth month, in

1. Ezekiel 21:19-22

2. II Kings 25:6; Jeremiah 39:5; 52:9, 26, 27.

Jerusalem was divided on the value of this Egyptian revolt. Some-
times the Egyptian party without reason, the new Egyptian king when ques-
tioned; but the Babylonian party could not understand the idea of Judah.
Egypt is really not coming to Israel, but all the kings on the other hand,
Israel and Judah are practically nothing to them and everything to Israel.
It made little difference who was right they would still be treated as such.
Sennacherib did not delay; he had not immediately to punish the revolt-
ing nations and settle his affairs with Egypt. Sennacherib came to the
provinces which led to his ravaging provinces. He to Israel and the other
to Jerusalem; and to the west coast and the other to the left, the east of
Jordan. The nation he should destroy first he left up to the Jews, Israel
was divided it all very well; "Alas, then son of man, around these two ways,
that the word of Babylon may come, they shall have their part and of the
land; and set up a signpost at the head of the way to each city, for the
word to come against Babylon of the children of Israel, and against Judah
and Jerusalem in the midst of her. For the king of Babylon stood at the
parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination; he
threw the arrows to and fro, he consulted the tarshish, he looked to the
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Jerusalem should be punished first, as we have seen already Babylon
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small fragment will soon be shaken up as a nation that once had been.

Second Report - 2d E. 2. In 588 B. C. we have Sennacherib

settling up his headquarters in Nineveh, on the Tigris, and it came to
pass in the ninth year of his reign (Isaiah 37) in the fourth month, in

the tenth day of the month, that Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon came, he and all his army, against it round about."¹ Zedekiah now began to question the wisdom of his action and he could not clearly see the outcome, so he anxiously, although secretly, summoned Jeremiah and said: "Inquire, I pray thee, of Yahweh for us; for Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon maketh war against us; peradventure Yahweh will deal with us according to all his wondrous works, that he may go up from us".² Jeremiah could have now asked him where the prophets were who had been prophesying that Babylon would not come against Jerusalem; but instead the only word he gave was that God would deliver the city into the hands of the Babylonians. Shortly after Jeremiah had given this prophecy the army of Nebuchadrezzar was withdrawn from the city because the Egyptians were coming up from the south; immediately the Pro-Egyptian party condemned Jeremiah because of his false prophecy and they began to rejoice in their deliverance. However, Jeremiah was not to be dismayed because he saw this deliverance to be only of a brief period so he cried out: "Behold, Pharaoh's army, which is come forth to help you, shall return to Egypt unto their own land. And the Chaldeans shall come again, and fight against this city; and they shall take it, and burn it with fire."³ He could only see surrender as the wisest and safest course to pursue. He suffered much because of his defeatist prophecies. "Then took they Jeremiah and cast him into the pit of Malchiah, the king's son, that was in the court of the guard; and they let down Jeremiah with cords. And in the dungeon there was no water, but mire; and Jeremiah sank in the mire."⁴ Zedekiah heard of this humiliating treatment of Jeremiah

1. II Kings 25:1; II Chronicles 26:17ff; Jeremiah 39:1; 52:4.

2. Jeremiah 21:2

3. Jeremiah 37:7-8

4. Jeremiah 38:6

and sent his men to pull him out. They brought him to the king and again he inquired the fate of Judah, but as he had always advised, Jeremiah said: "Go forth unto the king of Babylon, then shall thy soul live, and this city shall not be burned with fire; and thou shalt live and thy house".¹ Zedekiah excused himself because he feared that the revolting Judaeans might mock him, and all of Jeremiah's imploring went unheeded.

In the meantime, the Egyptians had withdrawn and in two or three months Nebuchadrezzar was back at the city renewing his attack. Because of the famine, the Jerusalem army could not hold out; the fall of the city was inevitable, so on the ninth day of the fourth month of the eleventh year of Zedekiah's reign the walls were breached, after a siege of a year and a half (586 B. C.)². In an effort to escape Zedekiah and his army fled during the night from the city, but Zedekiah became separated from his army and was captured on the plains of Jericho evidently heading for Arabia and thence to east Jordan.³ He was taken to Nebuchadrezzar at Riblah and his sons were there slain before his eyes as well as many of the royal officials. He was then blinded, put in fetters, and carried off to Babylon where he died in prison.⁴

Thus the words of Ezekiel were fulfilled: "My net will I spread upon him, and he shall be taken in my snare; and I will bring him to Babylon to the land of the Chaldaeans; yet shall he not see it; though he shall die there."⁵

It is indeed interesting to see the evaluations that have been given by various men in regard to Zedekiah. He should be pitied more than blamed because he was young and inexperienced. He was torn between

1. Jeremiah 38:17

2. II Kings 25:3-4; Jeremiah 39:2

3. Olmstead, History of Palestine and Assyria, p. 527.

4. Jeremiah 39:1-7; 36:5; 52:24-26.

5. Ezekiel 12:13

two ideals; should he listen to the great prophet Jeremiah or to the multitudes. He did as most men do in similar situations by yielding to the multitude; he followed the crowd. "That he was a man of weak character, unstable, and easily swayed, does not admit of doubt; but he lived in a political whirlpool which would have tried hard the capabilities of a stronger personality; a movement among the exiles fostered among his own entourage to replace his predecessors on the throne involving an act of disloyalty to the suzerain, placed him in a false position at the very beginning of his reign."¹ Everything taken into consideration, he must be pitied rather than blamed.

A month after the fall of Jerusalem, Nebuzaradan, captain of the guard and Nebuchadrezzar's companion, returned to Jerusalem, broke down the walls, burned down the temple and palace as well as many other buildings, and carried away all that was of value.² This was the second deportation of the Hebrews into Babylonia. "And the residue of the people that were left in the city, and those that fell away, that fell to the king of Babylon, and the residue of the multitude, did Nebuzaradan, the captain of the guard, carry away captive. But the captain of the guard left of the poorest of the land to be vine-dressers and husbandmen . . . So Judah was carried away captive out of his land."³

The king of Babylon had dealt harshly with the people but not so with Jeremiah. Although Jeremiah had considered himself a true patriot, Nebuchadrezzar sent orders that his every wish be respected and satisfied; he also ordered him to be escorted in royal fashion to Babylon if he desired, but Jeremiah declined with the result that many gifts were sent to

1. Oesterley and Robinson, History of Israel, Vol. 2, p. 37.

2. II Kings 25:8-10

3. II Kings 25:11, 12, 31; Jeremiah 39:9, 10; 52:15-16.

him. Nebuchadrezzar had realized how great the power of Jeremiah had been in weakening the morale of the revoltors, hence all of this royal treatment.¹

The government of the fallen and desolate country was now turned over to Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, whom the Babylonian governor trusted. Gedaliah was a close friend of Jeremiah and undoubtedly, that fact carried no small weight in determining his governorship. Nebuchadrezzar wanted a governor who would be loyal to him because he must have thought that Egypt had hopes of a return to power in this region, but with a loyal ruler in Palestine, Egypt's return would be more difficult. Gedaliah took a view favorable to Babylonia and faithfully endeavored to live it out. He made his headquarters at Mizpah, approximately five miles from Jerusalem and called Jeremiah to him.² Others followed him to this new situation and they were courteously received and told: "Fear not to serve the Chaldeans; dwell in the land and serve the king of Babylon, and it shall be well with you. As for me, behold, I will dwell at Mizpah, to stand before the Chaldeans, which shall come unto us; but ye, gather ye wine and summer fruits and oil, and put them in your vessels, and dwell in your cities that ye have taken."³ When the news spread over the land of these new conditions in Judaea many who had fled before the approach of the Babylonian army returned. They probably came from Moab, Ammon, Edom, and other countries to the new Governor and followed his advice by resuming their previous agricultural life.⁴

Among those who returned to Gedaliah was one named Ishmael, of the royal seed who probably was jealous of the new governor because he was of

1. Jeremiah 39:11-14; 40:1-6.

2. Jeremiah 40:6

3. Jeremiah 40:9-10

4. Jeremiah 40:11-12

humble origin. Ishmael was of the royal line and naturally felt that he had prior claims to the governorship, so a plot was formulated whereby Gedaliah was to be assassinated. It has been recorded that Baalis, the Ammonite king, sent Ishmael to assassinate the new governor. Johanan, who had received wind of the plot, told Gedaliah and offered to kill Ishmael rather than have Gedaliah's life end. But the governor refused to believe it and would not hear of any such a scheme, in fact, Gedaliah accused Johanan of unjustly condemning Ishmael. However, Ishmael, with his small following came to Gedaliah and all were hospitably received; but to the eternal disgrace of Ishmael he violated the sacred laws of hospitality and murdered Gedaliah and several of his followers.¹ Following this treacherous murder he gathered together the inhabitants of Mizpah and forced them to accompany him to the king of Ammon. Johanan, having heard what had happened, gathered up a few followers and set out in pursuit of Ishmael who was greatly slowed down because of his prisoners. The fleeing Ishmael was overtaken near the waters of Gideon, and the captives were all recovered even though Ishmael and his followers managed to escape and reach Ammon safely.

Johanan and his followers returned to Mizpah and prepared for a flight into Egypt, because they feared that Nebuchadrezzar would hold them responsible for the killing of Gedaliah and hence put them to death. Before they definitely decided to go, they consulted Jeremiah who advised them to remain in the land and forget their wild idea of a flight to Egypt,² but by this time the army of Nebuchadrezzar was near Tyre and the people in Judah grew weary and frightened so, they accused Jeremiah of

1. Jeremiah 40:3 - 41:3

2. Jeremiah 42:10ff.

lying and set out for Egypt forcing him to accompany them in spite of all of his strong protests. We surmise from Jeremiah 44 that they set out with the intention of joining one of the Jewish communities in Egypt, for there were many of them. These settlements were far apart and were situated for the most part in the commercial centers of Egypt. Johanan and his party settled in Taphanhes or Daphnae on the eastern Delta of the Nile. Other settlements were in Migdol, in northern Egypt, Memphis, in central Egypt, and Pathros in southern Egypt.

Thus the national existence of Judah had completely ended, and its days as a tiny state in a great world had come to an end. "Their passing, Judah and Israel, left hardly a trace in the flow and ebb of Empires. Yet their political insignificance equalled by their failure in material accomplishment, but threw into higher relief their incalculable achievement for the spirit of man. Within cultural limitations and assailed by external disaster, unfolded the soul. As successive calamities closed in upon the nation, threatening its extinction, so much the more confidently its true leaders affirmed spiritual values.

"In so far as Israel was impelled to forms of art expression, its culture found permanent embodiment only in its literature. Its influence in shaping social conditions was exercised in the drafting of laws, fused in the passion for righteousness which kindled the prophets to fiery speech. What the prophets wrought, and how they wrought, has yet to be told. Illumined by their vision, tempered in their ardor, the genius of Israel uttered itself supremely in Religion."¹

1. Noyes, Genius of Israel, p. 261

C. Fall of Judah to Rise of Cyrus

1. Babylonian Supremacy

The Hebrews were now scattered over the face of the earth and their lives during the next seventy years were to make a profound impression upon the whole religious life of the world during the next few centuries, but before going into that phase of our subject let us come back to the year 585 B. C. when Babylonia was endeavoring to reduce Tyre. The records of this period are exceedingly scarce, especially during the latter part of Nebuchadrezzar's reign. What few inscriptions we do have deal primarily with the building operations of Nebuchadrezzar and very little is said of his campaigns; but from the Bible and the few scattered remnants that we do possess we will endeavor to reconstruct the political history of the time.

The Babylonians evidently had a difficult time reducing Tyre because Ezekiel says: "And it came to pass in the seventh and twentieth year (of the Exile, 571 B. C.), in the first month, in the first day of the month, the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of Man, Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, caused his army to serve a great service against Tyre; every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled; yet had he no wages, nor his army, from Tyre, for the service that he had served against it."¹ For thirteen years this siege lasted; ultimately the city did fall with the loss of its independence, but it was not destroyed (573 or 572 B. C.) according to the usual procedure when a city was captured.

1. Ezekiel 29:17-18, also 27:3-36; 28:12-19.

After the fall of Tyre, Nebuchadrezzar had, in Egypt, one more enemy to subdue who was constantly seeking to incite rebellion against the Babylonians among the smaller states of the empire; therefore, a few years after the surrender of Tyre, in 563 or 567 B. C., Nebuchadrezzar set out to reduce Amasis, the new ruler of Egypt.¹ Amasis was defeated, and although no attempt was made to conquer Egypt, Nebuchadrezzar had subdued the last country that could cause him any trouble. The few years that were left of his reign were, as far as we know, peaceful and we surmise this to be a fact because we do not have any inscriptions of activity during this period. It seems reasonable to believe that we would have some record of unrest if any had existed, but we have complete silence. At any rate, Nebuchadrezzar left his successor, Amel-Marduk, (the Evil-Merodach of II Kings 25:27-30; Jeremiah 52:31-34) a wealthy and prosperous state that had complete unity, all of which was a product of his own initiative.²

Here we have history repeating itself in relation to a country when it becomes rich and prosperous. This great increase of wealth, with the accompanying luxury, tended to sap the virility of the people and shortly after the great king's death, weaknesses began to set in and with unrest in the kingdom itself, as well as among the rulers, the downfall of the state was rapidly approaching. Barton has well said, "After Nebuchadrezzar, the kingdom of Babylon rapidly declined through four reigns."³ All that archaeology has been able to uncover about this king, Evil-Merodach, is a brief inscription on an alabaster vase found at Susa, where the Elamites had carried it as booty: "Palace of Amil-Marduk, King of

1. Pinches, Translation of the Society for Biblical Archaeology, VII, p. 218-225 (1882).

2. Barton, G. A., Archaeology and the Bible, p. 70.

3. Ibid., p. 70.

Babylon, son of Nebuchadrezzar, King of Babylon."¹ He reigned barely two years 562-560 B. C.) when he was murdered by his brother-in-law, Neriglissar (Nergal-sharezer of Jeremiah 39:3) who took the throne in 560 B. C. and ruled until 556 B. C. The only thing of any importance recorded of these two men is that Evil-Merodach released Jehoiachin, who had been carried away into captivity, from prison. It is recorded: "And it came to pass in the seventh and thirtieth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, king of Judah, in the twelfth month, on the seventh and twentieth day of the month, that Evil-Merodach, king of Babylon, in the year that he began to reign did lift up the head of Jehoiachin, king of Babylon, out of prison; and he spake kindly to him and set his throne above the thrones of the kings that were with him in Babylon and changed his prison garments . . . and for his allowance, there was a continual allowance given him of the king, all the days of his life."²

These two kings were followed by Labashi-Marduk, the son of Neriglissar, and Nabonidus. We know very little of Labashi-Marduk except what we find on an inscription of Nabonidus, known as the Nabonidus chronicle.³ "Labashi-Marduk, his (Neriglissar) young son, who had not yet attained to understanding, seated himself upon the throne of the kingdom against the wish of the gods. "Then the chronicle goes on to tell us that Nabonidus succeeded him on the throne. "At the command of Marduk, my Lord, was I raised to the rulership of the land, while they shouted, 'Father of the land! His equal exists not!' It seems that when Labashi-Marduk assumed the rulership of the land it was the sign of an open revolt, so when the opportunity arrived the king was murdered and Nabonidus assum-

1. Barton, Archaeology and the Bible, p. 441.

2. II Kings 25:27; Jeremiah 52:3-4.

3. Barton, Archaeology and the Bible, p. 442-443.

ed the throne, (556 B. C.)

Babylon was rapidly nearing its end and with the internal unrest of the empire it is a miracle that this new king ruled as long as he did for he held to the throne seventeen years. Syria had revolted under his predecessors and succeeded in declaring their independence but otherwise the kingdom was fairly intact when Nabonidus assumed the crown; however, unrest was immediately to follow in his tracks. Naturally, his first step upon assuming office was an attempt to reduce Syria. Previous to this time Syria had not been feared, but evidently Egypt had, because troops were stationed in Gaza near the Egyptian border, but none had been placed near Syria. A few details of this Assyrian campaign are known. During the year 554 B. C. he was preparing for the campaign, gathering his troops together from Babylon, Phoenicia, and Palestine; during the next year he easily subdued the Syrians and then withdrew to his homeland to rebuild the temple in Harran for the moon-god Sin. After completing the temple in Harran he left his eldest son Bel-shar-uzar (Belshazzar) in charge of the government and set out to punish a few of his revolting states. He went southwards through Ammurru to the east Jordan section when he came to Teima and, after capturing that city, he put the king to death and began to build himself a temple. This all took place in 552 B. C. Nabonidus settled here, as his center of operations, until 544 B. C., the eleventh year of his reign. From all that we can gather, the king was very nervous during these years and indeed there was a good reason, because the sands were rapidly running. Cyrus was overrunning the north and rapidly coming southward toward Babylon with his mighty army; however Nabonidus had great political insight so he broke his relations with the Medes and allied himself with Cyrus, although to no a-

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 placed near him. A few details of this history are known.
 During the year 255 A. D. he was working for the kingdom, gathering
 his troops together from Babylon, Babilonia, and Persia; during the
 next year he easily subdued the kingdom and soon withdrew to his home-
 land to rebuild the temple in honor for the god. After con-
 sidering the people in honor he left his estate and returned (not
 appearing) in charge of the government and not to punish a few of his
 rebellious states. He went southwards through various to the east Indian
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vail as the sequel which followed easily shows, however the slyness of his hopes shows that he had great foresight into the future. His center of interest was not in his government but in archaeological research; "he was a scholar with a most conservative respect for old records and some ancient foundation stones."¹

We have brought the history down to the coming of Cyrus. Now, it will be well if we focus our attention upon the Jewish Exiles in their three centers of Babylonia, Egypt, and Palestine, and see how they were faring under their new conditions of life, and after that we continue with the march of the mighty Cyrus as his mighty military machine conquers the entire world.

2. Jewish Life in the Exiled Lands and Palestine

Babylonia Frequently, we have referred to the word 'exile' without clearly defining what we have meant by it, so let us now clarify our meaning. According to our common usage today of the term, it is misleading, because this exile is not one where a person was driven from his land without any future connection with relatives or friends, and had to go wherever he pleased to begin life anew; "it was the transportation of a whole society - men and women and children - so that they could begin something of their own life elsewhere. All the classes were represented, priests, merchants, artisans, and craftsmen. They could organize both their worship and their business. The only thing impossible for them was political self-government, and even thus they were not necessarily much worse off than their neighbors."²

1. Thompson, Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. III, p. 218.

2. Lofthouse, W. F., Israel After the Exile, p. 1

Then before going further, let us clear up the question as to the number of people carried away into exile. During this period of deportations there were three; 597, 586, and the flight into Egypt. The Old Testament conception of the number amounts in all to about 50,000, which authorities do not believe includes the women and children. The deportation of 597 carried away with the king, a number of Jerusalem priests, including the prophet Ezekiel, and probably a few of the chief statesmen. Sennacherib claims to have deported from Judah in 701 the enormous number of 200, 150 persons; but this probably represents the whole population of the forty-six cities which he captured. Using this as a basis, Lofthouse estimates the population of Judah to have been about 225,000 at this period. The 1922 population of the whole of Palestine was estimated to be 754,000, that of Jerusalem 64,000. Thus using 225,000 as an approximate estimate of the population we would still have a considerable number left after the three deportations, let us say about 175,000 or about three times the population of Jews in Babylon and Egypt. However, viewing the caliber of the people who were taken into exile, we can see how those in Babylon came to consider themselves to be the real trustees of the old traditions. Thus, from the nature of the case, we have much more material referring to the religious life of this period than of the political developments of the history, as we are at present viewing it; but here again we will use what material we have to build our history.

The actual attitude and conditions of the exiles can best be gleaned from the writings of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the later poets. Close relationships were maintained with those who lived behind; also Nebuchadnezzar's treatment of the exiles was a kindly one, at least during the earlier part of the period. It seems that Babylon desired to make things

They before going further, let us clear up the question as to the number of people carried away from Egypt. During this period of the historical events were about 500,000, and the flight into Egypt. The old Testament accounts of the number amounts to all of about 50,000, which authorities do not believe included the women and children. The population of Egypt carried away with the king, a number of Jerusalem, including the women and children, and probably a few of the chief officials. Josephus also states that he carried from Egypt to the number of 50,000, but this probably represents the whole population of the forty-five miles which he captured. During this as a whole, Josephus estimates the population of Egypt to have been about 1,500,000 at this period. The 1922 population of the whole of Egypt was estimated to be 10,000,000, that of Jerusalem 50,000. Then using 500,000 as an approximate estimate of the population we would still have a considerable number left after the three hundred thousand, let us say about 1,000,000 or about three times the population of Jews in Babylon and Egypt. However, during the capture of the people who were taken into exile, we can see how those in Babylon came to consider themselves to be the real Israel of the old conditions. Thus, from the nature of the case, we have much more material referring to the religious life of this period than of the political development of the history, as we are at present viewing it; but here again we will use what material we have to build our history.

The actual attitude and conditions of the exiles can best be known from the writings of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the later poets. These relationships were maintained with those who lived behind; also detached from a treatment of the exiles was a kindly one, at least during the earlier part of the period. It seems that Babylon desired to make things

as easy as might be for the defeated Jews. Neither Jeremiah nor Ezekiel said one word condemning Babylonian rule, nor did they mention in any way any tradition of specific acts of maliciousness or oppression to the Jews. From the facts of the case "the Jews hated Babylon a great deal more than Babylon ill-treated the Jews".¹ Much freedom must have been given to these people because they built houses, planted gardens, gave their children in marriage, and followed Jeremiah's instructions to prepare for a long stay.

The location of the people in exile has been fairly well established; however, until the recent archaeological discoveries were made known we were not sure whether the place Babylon meant the city by that name or the general province of Babylon. Ezekiel describes the place as "a land of traffic, a city of merchants, a fruitful soil, and besides many waters."² Psalm 137:1 refers to the days when they sat beside the rivers and canals of Babylon. Further, Ezekiel says that he lived among the exiles by the river or canal Chebar.³ The University of Pennsylvania has recently uncovered two tablets at Nippur which refers to the canal Chebar to the east of the city of Babylon. "All these references point to the rich fruitful land, intersected by canals and plentifully watered, which lies to the south and east of the city of Babylon, between the Euphrates and the Tigris,"⁴ and in this land Nebuchadrezzar established a new community for these people he had brought from the barren uplands of Judah.

Undoubtedly other settlements of the Jews can be found. In Ezra we have three places mentioned: Tell Charsa, Tell Melach, and Casiphia. Then Ahava is mentioned as a place and also as a river, so we are in doubt as to the exact situation or significance of that name. "The num-

1. Lofthouse, Israel After the Exile, p. 6. 3. Ezekiel 1:3
2. Ezekiel 17:5 4. Kent, History of the Jewish People, p. 35.

as they might be for the purpose of. Within twenty or thirty
 and one would expect to find the same, but they would in any
 way, the result of a general idea of the situation in the
 town. From the facts of the case, the fact that the town had
 been once before in the hands of the town, the fact that the town
 given to these people because they had been, and the fact that
 their children in the town, and followed by the town in the
 case for a long time.

The history of the town in the fact that the town had been
 and, however, until the town was in the hands of the town, the town
 was not, and the town was the town, and the town was the town
 in the fact that the town was the town, and the town was the town
 fact of the town, a fact of the town, and the town was the town
 fact. The town was the town, and the town was the town, and the town
 and the town of the town, and the town was the town, and the town
 fact by the town, and the town was the town, and the town was the town
 has recently received the town, and the town was the town, and the town
 the town to the town of the town, and the town was the town, and the town
 to the town of the town, and the town was the town, and the town was the town
 which was the town, and the town was the town, and the town was the town
 the town and the town, and the town was the town, and the town was the town
 a new community for the town, and the town was the town, and the town was the town
 of the town.

Indirectly, the town was the town, and the town was the town, and the town was the town
 we have the town, and the town was the town, and the town was the town, and the town was the town
 The town is the town, and the town was the town, and the town was the town, and the town was the town

fact as to the town, and the town was the town, and the town was the town, and the town was the town
 I have the town, and the town was the town, and the town was the town, and the town was the town

ber of such settlements and the area over which they were scattered, there is little way of knowing; the names of the few that occur, however, suggest that there were probably others."¹

The significance of Jeremiah's letter to the people in Babylon cannot be over-estimated, because it throws much light upon the conditions under which they lived and the life they must have lived. Undoubtedly some of them received cruel treatment and were put to forced labor,² but these were probably the people who had given strenuous opposition to the Babylonian rule. Sufficient ground is found for believing that they were permitted to follow their own inclinations in earning their livelihood. Nebuchadrezzar's purpose in all of his actions was not merely to end revolts but to glorify his own land by adding to it a great amount of good workmen. His aim was to glorify his gods and that could be done only through great prosperity, and the Jews were men who helped to bring this prosperity about.

Jeremiah bids the people to settle down and follow their own trades. Many lived through an agricultural life as the names of the cities indicate: Tell Abib means "the hill of the ears of corn", Tell Charsa means "the hill of the plough", and Tell Melach means "the barren hill". Further in his letter Jeremiah bids those who live in the city to seek its peace which indicates that they must have been merchants and artisans of various types. Then seeing that they had settled so near the Babylonian capital, some of the Jews must have found their ways into the army of officials required to attend to public affairs. However, one drawback to the Jewish people taking over some of the merchants' tasks was the old

1. Oesterley and Robinson, History of Israel, Vol. 2, p. 43.

2. Isaiah 42:22; 51:23

Hebrew aversion to traffic which finds expression in the writings of some of the prophets of this period. This may have deterred some of the exiles from becoming merchants; but the opportunities and advantages offered in these trades were too great to be spurned for a long time. "The peculiar genius for trade, which the Jews have manifested ever since, was probably first developed amidst the favoring conditions which surrounded them in the land of the two rivers."¹ A sign that many of these men secured considerable riches in their new trades is evident from Ezra 2:68-69: some of the heads of the fathers' houses, when they came to the house of Yahweh which is in Jerusalem, offered willingly for the house of God to set it in its place; they gave after their ability into the treasury of the work three score and one thousand darics of gold, and five thousand pounds of silver, and one hundred priests's garments." Even allowing for some exaggerations, Oesterley believes that there must have been a considerable number of the exiles at the close of that period who possessed great wealth which it must have taken years to acquire. Tablets uncovered at Nippur signify that Jewish people did much trading because such names as Hananiah, Gedaliah, Benjamin, and others appear in business transactions with the leading merchantile houses of the city, Marashu Sons.² These tablets belong later than our period in history, but those Jews who are mentioned are not likely to be the first to have entered into this trading and commerce in Babylon.

The agricultural success of the people cannot very well be doubted because they lived near the great city of Babylon which would need products of the soil, and the Jews were well trained in this field of living because of their previous agricultural life. Ezra 2:67 refers to

1. Kent, History of the Jewish People, p. 38.

2. Helprecht, The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Vol. IX, p. 28, 76. (1898)

great possessions of the returned exiles along these lines: "Their horses were seven hundred and thirty-six, their mules two hundred and forty-five; their camels, four hundred and thirty-five; their asses, six thousand and seven hundred and twenty," and it must have taken a long time to have acquired these possessions.

We have said that during the early part of the exile they had very little forced labor; but as the empire began to weaken the need for such labor became acute. There is no direct evidence bearing upon any slavery, but from the nature of the case we surmise that such existed. Many were put to death in 597 B. C. and from this we infer that many paid the price of slavery in order to redeem their lives. Ezekiel commenting in 585 B. C. upon the fate of the scattered people said, "they shall know that I am Jehovah when I have broken the bars by their yoke, and have delivered them out of the hand of those that made bondmen of them."¹ "It is significant that while the references to forced labor and persecution are rare in the literature of the first part, they become very common in that of the latter part of the Babylonian exile."² Further reference to such labor is given by the author of Isaiah 14 when he says, "It shall come to pass in the day that the Lord shall give rest from your labor, and from your trouble, and from the hard service which men laid upon you, that you shall take up this taunt-song against the king of Babylon, and say, How is the oppressor stilled - the raging stilled!"³ Deutero-Isaiah condemns the Babylonians because they "showed no compassion: upon the aged they made their yoke very heavy."⁴ These statements must have been based on

1. Ezekiel 34:27

2. Kent, History of the Jewish People, p. 40.

3. Isaiah 14:3-4

4. Isaiah 41:6

great abundance of the returned child along these lines. The nurses
were never hindered and distressed, their voices were hoarse and faintly-
their names, I am hundred and thirty-five; thirty years, she answered me
never hindered and thirty, "and it was taken a long time to have an-
other nurse appointed."

We have said that during the early part of the war they had very
little forced labor; but as the war began to worsen, the need for more
labor became acute. There is no direct evidence bearing upon any change
but from the nature of the case we surmise that such a change must have
put its hands in 1917 A. D. and from this we infer that many of the
of slavery in order to reduce their losses. Detailed statements to the
upon the fact of the restricted people said, "they will have that" as
through which I have passed the bars of their voice, and have delivered
them out of the hands of those that were bound of them. "It is a right-
is not that while the references to forced labor and servitude are rare
in the literature of the first part, they become very common in that of
the latter part of the Babylonian exile." Further reference to such
labor is given by the author of Isaiah 44 when he says, "It shall come to
pass in the day that the Lord shall give rest from your labor, and from
your trouble, and from the hard service which was laid upon you, that you
shall take up this song, saying, against the king of Babylon, and say, The
is the greatness of the - the saying of the Lord. Further-lamentation
the Babylonians because they "spoke as enemies: upon the day they
made their grave very heavy." These statements must have been made in

1. Exodus 12:1
2. Gen. 1:1-2:3
3. Isaiah 44:1-2
4. Isaiah 44:1

facts that existed under the degenerated rule of Nebuchadrezzar's successors: "It is a people robbed and plundered; snared are all of them in holes and hid in prison houses; they are become a prey, and there is none to rescue; a spoil, and none who says, Restore."¹

Thus far we have not touched the most vital part of the exile, their religious life, but that we shall deal with later under the heading of the problems of the sixth century, so let it suffice here to say that a strong sense of religious unity was built up and that this age of prophecy was of vital importance for all that followed in the lives of the Jewish race, because out of it all came Judaism.

It is interesting and valuable to note that there must have been certain great historic events that attracted great attention from the exiles. At least from the attention devoted to them in the Old Testament we infer that they were milestones in the Hebrew thought of the day.

The first great event was the siege of Tyre and from Ezekiel we judge that much interest was devoted to it. It seems that great satisfaction was shown because Tyre was holding out, perhaps because it would give Egypt a chance to gain power and strike a mighty blow to the Babylonians; but Ezekiel does not hesitate to discourage their false hopes by saying that Tyre will be delivered into the hands of Babylon. The fall of Tyre and Nebuchadrezzar's Egyptian campaigning were of great interest, especially the latter because there was always the possibility that Babylonia might be weakened by some new enemy and with that weakening might come the opportunity of returning home. Here again their hopes were shattered because Babylon remained as strong as ever.

1. Isaiah 43:22

The next event of any great interest probably was the death of Nebuchadrezzar in 562 B. C. because here we have the beginnings of a decay in the empire. The rapid changing of kings, the internal uprest which brought within eight years four kings and two revolutions must have fermented great hopes and expectations among the Jews who were longing for their homeland. Then when the news of the march of Cyrus came to the ears of the Jews in Babylon, excitement must have run high. The instrument by which God's purpose was to be accomplished was Cyrus: "Who hath raised up one from the east; whom he called in righteousness to his foot: He giveth nations before him and maketh rule over kings¹ Then this is followed shortly by a more pointed utterance by the great prophet of the exile: "Cyrus, he is my shepherd, and he shall perform all my pleasure; even saying of Jerusalem, who shall be built, and to the temple, thy foundations shall be laid. Thus saith Yahweh to his annointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him, and I will loose the loins of kings; to open the doors before him, and the gate shall not be shut; I will go before thee, and make the rugged places plain, I will break into pieces the doors of brass, and of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know that I am Yahweh, that call thee by thy name, even the God of Israel."² Thus the great Cyrus was looked forward to by the exiled people in Babylon.

Egypt Egypt had always been a refuge for the Jewish people as one may easily see who will go back into their history and seek out periods when Egypt was a home for the Jews. To be sure, their relations with

1. Isaiah 41:2-3

2. Isaiah 44:28-45:3

this land, to the south, had not always been pleasant, but the fact still remains that it was probably the nearest land of security to which they could flee with comparative safety. During the period in which we are now interested, Egypt maintained a friendly attitude toward the Jews, and for this reason it was the goal of the flight from Palestine. The death of Gedaliah instilled great fear in the people because Nebuchadrezzar might easily exercise his wrath upon them, and inasmuch as the approach of the Chaldean armies was from the north, the main highway running south from Hebron through the solitary desert was the most natural line of escape.

These people who fled into Egypt were probably the superior element of the population that had been left in Judah; then further, their new environment was probably superior to that of Palestine. In the cities to which they fled were undoubtedly many Jews who had been there for years, so they were not entirely alone as the exiles in Babylon had been. The conditions for making a livelihood were also superior to those of Palestine and the east. This not only afforded excellent conditions for work, but also kept them in intimate connection with their homeland.

"Tantalizing glimpses of Jewish colonies in Egypt are furnished from three sources of information: 1. Tiles and potsherds and papyri have been unearthed at the first cataract of the Nile; 2. the Book of Jeremiah which has several chapters on the Jews in Egypt; and 3. the history of the city of Alexandria shows the presence of many Jews in Egypt."¹ From these scanty sources we must glean what we can of the life in Egypt. From Jeremiah 44:1 we learn that there were at least four settlements of

1. Purinton, The Achievement of Israel, p. 125.

the Jews in Egypt during the exile: Migdol, Taphanes, Memphis, and Pathros. From archaeology we learn that there was another colony at Elephantine which is by far the most interesting one in the light of our modern knowledge. We infer from these few places that there must have been more scattered throughout the land where they built homes, bought land, carried on business, and maintained their worship as they desired.

The two towns nearest Palestine to which the Jewish refugees fled were Migdol and Taphanes. Migdol is evidently one of the frontier towns that guarded the eastern boundary and hence gave opportunity for employment in the army. Taphanes or Daphne is probably the modern Tell Defenneh and was situated on the right bank of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, close to the caravan route from Palestine. It was also close to the fertile lands of the Nile Delta and during the reign of Psammetich I, it was an important military and commercial town. This town is where the group that fled from Judah with Jeremiah found refuge and here it was that they were in a position to return whenever the opportunity offered itself. Being in the midst of cosmopolitan life they had ample opportunity to engage in trading, which must have been their chief occupation.

Another city that the Jews settled in was Memphis, which lay ten miles south of Cairo at the southern end of the Nile Delta. It was a large metropolitan city with people of all nationalities. Undoubtedly those who settled here intended to make it their permanent home. Then, as I have said, the most interesting of these centers of Jewish life was at Elephantine, because here our knowledge is relatively complete due to the Elephantine papyri which has been uncovered there.¹ It is true that these papyri may be dated in a later century than ours, but they undoubtedly

1. Barton, Archaeology of the Bible, p. 39, 447 ff.; Lofthouse

throw much light back upon our century and show the type of life the people must have lived. The modern city of Assuan is near the old city of Elephantine and is situated just below the first cataract of the Nile. This island of Elephantine, which is in the Nile just opposite Assuan and is one of the garden spots of the Nile valley, must have been occupied by Jews shortly after the fall of Jerusalem, while some authorities place its Jewish occupation as early as 722 B. C. "The ruins of the ancient city cover a low-lying hill on the southern end, which is here fully three-quarters of a mile across from east to west. On the east, across the river, are the heights of Assuan. The view of the south is toward the rocky cataract of the Nile. On the west, across the river, extends the brown, rocky desert."¹

Among these parchments found at Elephantine is a letter to the governor in Jerusalem seeking permission to rebuild their ruined temple. "Let a letter from thee, thy requested, be sent concerning the temple of Yahu, to build it . . . as it was formerly; that meat-offerings, incense, and burnt-offerings may be offered in thy name on the altar of Yahu, and we pray for thee at all times, we and our wives and our children and all the Jews who are here."² The governor replied that they might "rebuild it in its place as it was before."³ Conditions as to religion, however, were very complicated because the Jews not only worshipped Jehovah but also other gods, among them the Queen of the Heavens. Jeremiah stormed out against this division of loyalty: "Your apostasy to Jehovah made this national judgment, which has overtaken you, an absolute necessity. If you persist in neglecting him, only a few of you will realize the fond hope of your life and survive the return to Judah."⁴

1. Kent, Biblical Geography and History, p. 196.

2. Lofthouse, Israel After the Exile, p. 226.

3. Ibid., p. 229.

4. Jeremiah 44:15-30, a paraphrase by Kent, History of the Jewish People, p. 32.

We can draw the conclusion from the above that the Hebrews here were not monotheistic in their faith. One finds references to Yahweh and there were also at least four deities who were recognized; Anath-Bethel, Anath-Jau, Ashan-Bethel, and Herem-Bethel.¹ References to these deities are found in the Old Testament and it appears that some of them may have been feminine-counterparts to their gods; but the orthodox Hebrews sternly disregarded any sexual element in Yahweh's nature. However, being away from Palestine there might have been this element slowly creeping into the Jewish worship and when we recall Jeremiah's bitter condemnation of the worship of the 'queen of heaven' we can realize more easily the sad condition their worship must have been in. We must realize further that this new element did not greatly hinder their zealous worship of Jehovah. Their temple belonged to Jehovah and he ruled over all, he alone was "the God". So we might sum this up by saying that "the colonists held it as the faith of their fathers; in their isolation on the distant borders of a foreign land they preserved all the traditions they knew; and untroubled by the prophets who had scourged and perplexed their ancestors, they were confident alike in their patriotism and their piety."² The fact remains, however, they were isolated and in their isolation they would find difficulty in zealously carrying on the faith of their fathers after a new generation came into being which did not have a prophet to spurn them on.

One further consideration of these Jews in Egypt was that they were unpopular with their neighbors, a fact that is indirectly brought out by the papyri in certain references dealing with their temple and

1. Elephantine Papyri, Lofthouse, p. 218.

2. Lofthouse, Israel After the Exile, p. 219.

and religion.¹ When one views the intolerant attitude of the earlier prophets toward other cults, this hatred of the Jews is easier to understand. Then further, Jeremiah's condemnation at Taphanes probably did not help matters. The Jews, because of this, probably remained isolated from the other people, both socially and religiously, which would, to some extent, help them to maintain their Hebrew identity. From this brief discussion of the Egyptian Jews we can easily see how the Babylonians considered themselves to be the real perpetrators of the true faith of Jehovah. We are sadly disappointed in the life of the Jews in Egypt, but further work of the archaeological spade may clear some of our disillusionment up and show us that Egypt was not as disloyal as we think. Let us hope that such will be the case.

Palestine The population of Palestine at this time consisted mostly of the poorer and more ignorant type of people who had been left behind by the dispersion. They were left behind because they did not revolt, indeed the peasant is always the last to revolt; so the result is that they are generally the ones to survive a conquest. Such was the situation in Judah, and under these conditions, the peasants would naturally be the ones who would best conserve the interests of Babylon.

The rule of the land at this time must have been exceedingly loose although, on the other hand, it is hard to conceive of Babylonia not appointing a governor of some kind. The murder of Gedaliah must have made Nebuchadrezzar very skeptical about appointing another Jew, because jealousy could very easily break out again. However, later history shows us that the practice of appointing a Judaeen governor continued so he might

1. Lofthouse, Elephantine Papyri, p. 217.

and religion. When one views the important attitude of the earlier prophets toward other cults, this kind of the law is useful to understand. When further, however, a consideration of the religious world of the Jews, because of this, naturally revealed that from the other people, who socially and religiously, which would, in some extent, help them to maintain their Jewish identity. From this brief discussion of the religious law we can easily see how the Babylonian considered themselves to be the real purporters of the law of God. Moreover, he was really distinguished in the law of the Jews in Egypt, but further work of the archaeological study may show some of our attention went up and show us that Egypt was not as isolated as we thought. Let us hope that such will be the case.

Religion The position of religion in the law is very important. The law of the power and more important than it people who had been left behind by the Babylonians. They were left behind because they did not follow, indeed the power is always the law to reveal the result is that they are generally the same as in the law. But the law situation in Israel, and under these conditions, the people would naturally be the ones who would have the interests of religion.

The rule of the law at this time must have been exceedingly loose although, on the other hand, it is hard to conceive of Babylonian and appointing a Governor of some kind. The number of Babylonians must have been very numerous, very important about appointing another law, because that they could very easily break the law. However, later history shows us that the question of appointing a Babylonian Governor was not so simple.

have repeated his previous act by appointing another Judaeen. The fact is we do not know who ruled over Judaea at this time; but we do know that Lamentations give us a sad view of the conditions: "Servants rule over us: There is none to deliver us out of their hand."¹

Judaea had been deprived of its best caliber of people and was now weakened and an easy prey to the neighboring states. The deportations probably had taken those who were able to bear arms. Probably a Babylonian garrison was left there to watch over the land whose primary duty was to uphold the authority of the King: thus any attacks from neighboring states would be out of their jurisdiction. The petty states that endeavored to prey upon Judah were also vassals of Babylonia, so as long as they did not interrupt the ruling authority, interference was unnecessary from the Babylonian point of view.

The Ammonites who had supported Ishmael in the murder of Gedaliah were not satisfied at the treachery in which this earlier action resulted; because, after a brief period, they were taking the opportunity to attack the land in its confused condition. Jeremiah condemns them: "Therefore, behold, the days come, saith Yahweh, that I will cause an alarm of war to be heard against Rabbah of the children of Ammon; and it shall become a desolate heap, and her daughters shall be burned with fire; and then shall Israel possess them that did possess him, saith Yahweh."² Ezekiel also prophesied doom against Ammon: "Thus saith the Lord God, Because thou saidst, Aha, against my sanctuary, when it was profaned; and against the house of Judah, when they went into captivity; therefore, behold, I will deliver thee to the children of the last for a possession .

1. Lamentations 5:8

2. Jeremiah 49:1-6

have reported the presence of the following number of persons. The fact
is we do not know who joined your Bureau at this time, but we do know
that approximately five or six joined at the conclusion of the trial.
and as there is some delay in the delivery of the goods,
I have not been able to get the full number of goods and was
not satisfied and so went over to the neighboring station. The transportation
probably had been there for some time as I saw some. Probably a Belgian
man arrived and left there so with me the last time I saw him was
to avoid the publicity of the King: then and since then nothing
states would be out of their jurisdiction. The party states that someone
went to buy from him and was also a case of burglary, as long as
they did not interfere with the ruling authority, interference was unnecessary
from the Belgian point of view.

The situation was not reported because of the number of details
were not satisfied at the time, however, in which this matter could be
settled because, after a brief period, they were taking the opportunity
to attack the land in the enclosed condition. Attached contains them:
"Therefore, behind, the days come, with them, that I will come to
them as far as he has agreed to the children of man; and it
shall become a double day, and his daughter shall be turned into stone
and then shall burst because that did happen him, with them."

Special also presented from against them: "Then with the Lord God,
because they refused, for, against my authority, when it was evident
and against the house of David, when they were into captivity; therefore,
I will deliver them to the children of the Lord for a possession."

. . . And I will make Rabbah a stable for camels, and the children of Ammon a couching place for flocks . . . "1

Another kingdom that gave Judah trouble was Moab who also thought the time ripe to get their spoils from the fallen state. Ezekiel says: "And I will execute judgments against Moab; and they shall know that I am Jehovah."² We find further condemnation of Moab in Zephaniah: "I have heard the reproach of Moab . . . wherewith they have reproached my people, and magnified themselves against their border. Therefore as I live, saith Jehovah of hosts, the God of Israel, surely Moab shall be a Sodom . . . a possession of nettles, and saltpits, and a perpetual desolation: the residue of my people shall make a prey of them, and the remnant of my nation shall inherit them Jehovah will be terrible unto them."³

Of all the foes, the Edomites were probably the most grievous offenders. It was upon them that Obadiah called forth his bitterest condemnation because they were the ones who robbed Judah, who treacherously dealt with Judah, who even took slaves, and for all these crimes they would be severely judged.⁴ Ezekiel, however, is the one who gives us the real picture of the activities of Edom when he says, "Because that Edom hath dealt against the house of Judah by taking vengeance, and hath greatly offended, and revenged himself upon them; therefore saith the Lord God, I will stretch my hand upon Edom, and I will cut off man and beast from it; and I will make it desolate from Teman; even unto Dedan shall they fall by the sword".⁵ We find in Ezekiel 35:1-15 that Edom was desirous of possessing, not only the land of Judaea, but that of the fallen north-

1. Ezekiel 25:1-7

2. Ezekiel 25:11, see verses 8-11.

3. Zephaniah 2:8-9, 11

4. Obadiah 11:14

5. Ezekiel 25:12-13

ern kingdom as well, and Ezekiel indignantly storms out against them:

"Because thou saidst, These two nations and these two countries shall be mine, and we will possess it; though Yahweh was there; therefore as I live, saith the Lord God, I will do according to thine anger, and according to thine envy which thou hast showed out of thy hatred against them . . . And thou shalt know that I, Yahweh, have heard all thy blasphemies which thou hast spoken against the mountains of Israel, saying, They are desolate, they are given us to devour."¹ That the land was in a devastated condition may be gleaned from verse 15: "As thou didst rejoice over the inheritance of the house of Israel, because it was desolate, so will I do unto thee: thou shalt be desolate, O Mount Seir, and all Edom, even all of it; and they shall know that I am Jehovah."²

The Edomites had by the close of the exile gained possession of the south country, including Hebron and the lowlands of the west,³ and evidently continued to hold it for many years. Because of all these actions the Moabites became a symbol to the Jewish mind of the type of people Yahweh would surely exercise his wrath upon, they were the enemies of all truth.

Another neighbor of Judah's who saw fit to rejoice at their fall was Tyre and in Ezekiel 26-28:19 we have the prophet condemning them; but not for an invasion as he did the others but because of their rejoicing over the downfall which had as its basis the secret hope of commercial profit. "Son of man, because that Tyre hath said against Jerusalem, Aha, she is broken that was the gate of the people; she is turned unto me; I

1. Ezekiel 35:10-12

2. Ezekiel 35:15

3. The International Critical Commentary on Joel, p. 61.

shall be replenished, now that she is laid waste; thee, O Tyre, and will cause many nations to come up against thee, as the sea causeth its waves to come up."¹

One other nation that rejoiced at the downfall of Judah seems to have been Philistia, who had long since become relatively insignificant. This is true if Joel 4:4-8 may be dated as referring to this period and Dr. Julius seems to believe that it can.² As to what they intended to do or what they did we cannot say, but that they had designs is quite evident. They probably, like Tyre, hoped for greater commercial profits because of the extinguishment of Judah.

That there was great unrest in the land cannot well be denied, as we have now seen, and S. A. Cook has well said of this restlessness: "There was little love lost between rivals. Tyre was always ready to gloat over Jerusalem; Edom, too, was envious; the god Milcom (i. e. Ammon) possessed Gad; Moab and Ammon magnified themselves against Israel; and Philistia was not slow to pay off old scores."³

While this restlessness was going on another type of movement was taking place which had an even more profound effect upon the inhabitants of Judah. The genealogical lists in I Chronicles 2, 4 "reflect the movement of clans of Edomites of south Palestinian affinity from the south of Judah to the district of Jerusalem, and their inclusion among the Judaeans division of the Israelite tribes. This movement, which was of immense significance, may have been due to the pressure exerted upon south Judah by the Edomites; and the Edomites, in turn, were no doubt the victims of those more important movements which make the Nabateans and the other Arab tribes a new factor in the later history."⁴ This pressing northwards

1. Ezekiel 25:2-3

2. The International Critical
Commentary on Joel, p. 61.

3. Cook, Cambridge Ancient History,
Vol. 3, p. 405.

4. Ibid., p. 405.

shall be considered, now that the 1st of June, 1917, has arrived, and will
show many nations to be up to the mark, as the new movement for peace
is now on.

The report states that the result of the survey of the situation in
the East has been that the situation is relatively stable, and that the
situation is not so bad as it was at the end of the last year, and
that the situation is not so bad as it was at the end of the last year.
It is true that the situation is not so bad as it was at the end of the
last year, but it is not so good as it was at the end of the last year.
They probably, like the other, report for the first time in the history of
the situation in the East.

There have been some changes in the last year, and it is hoped, as
we have seen, that the situation will be better in the future.
There are still some changes in the situation, and it is hoped that the
situation will be better in the future. The situation is not so bad as it
was at the end of the last year, and it is hoped that the situation will
be better in the future. The situation is not so bad as it was at the end
of the last year, and it is hoped that the situation will be better in the
future.

While this situation is not so bad as it was at the end of the last year,
it is still a situation which is not so good as it was at the end of the
last year. The situation is not so good as it was at the end of the last
year, and it is hoped that the situation will be better in the future.
The situation is not so good as it was at the end of the last year, and it
is hoped that the situation will be better in the future. The situation is
not so good as it was at the end of the last year, and it is hoped that the
situation will be better in the future. The situation is not so good as it
was at the end of the last year, and it is hoped that the situation will be
better in the future.

by the Edomites probably was gradual and took many years, but that they eventually were assimilated with the Jews cannot be doubted and in time they were classified as regular clans of the tribe of Judah.¹ This assimilation broke down the structure of the old society which meant a retard in their social and religious life, but probably helped greatly in rebuilding the population which had been lost through the deportations.

The religious life in Judah must have been in as sad a plight as the political life; although, there are a few elements present which show that the germ was present that would give new religious life, if the proper touch were administered, as it was at the end of the exilic period. Jerusalem must have continued as Jeremiah says, "there came men from Shechem, from Shiloh, and from Samaria, even four score men, having their beards shaven and their clothes rent, and having cut themselves, with meal-offerings and frankincense in their hand to bring them to the house of Jehovah."² Lamentations give us further help here by showing that there were priests in Jerusalem in order that the customary worship might be continued.³

Joyful as this picture may be a darker one is the true reality of the period in both the religious and moral sense. Worship of impure cults was practiced on the high places,⁴ and all the enthusiasm for purity of worship was gone. Foreign cults had crept into Palestine and were practiced - Ishtar - worship (Jeremiah 7:18), Tammuz - worship (Ezekiel 8:9-18), and sun-worship (Ezekiel 6:4-6; 8:1-31; 33:21-29). "Some of these passages no doubt refer to conditions before the actual fall of Jerusalem, but that they will also apply to the years which succeeded is only too likely; what had become habitual in this way cannot have been

1. I Chronicles 2, 4; Ezekiel 31:2; 25:30.

2. Jeremiah 41:5

3. Lamentations 1:4

4. Jeremiah 7:17-19; Ezekiel 6:13; 33:25.

by the churches probably was gradual and took many years, but that the
essentially were associated with the last century, or hundred and in the
they were associated as regards of one of the forms of church. This is
attested by the description of the old society which seems a picture
in their social and religious life, and probably helped greatly in re-
building the population which had been lost through the depopulations.
The religious life in which they have been in and a picture of
the political life; although, there are a few elements present which show
that the form was present that would give new religious life. It is the pro-
per form was substituted, as it was at the end of the eighteenth
century and was continued as formerly was, "there was no new
thought, from which, and from which, even their form was, during their
period of growth and their religious form, and having not themselves, with
new efforts and transformations in which they are trying to bring them to the form
of today." The transformation also on further into the new by showing that
there were points in transition in order that the continuity would be
be continued.

It is as this picture may be a picture and is the true reality of
the period in both the religious and moral sense. Details of language
which are mentioned on the high plane, and all the unknown and for purity
of worship was good. The religious which had great religious and were
practiced - labor - worship (religious 7:10), worship (religious
8:0-10), and non-worship (religious 8:0-10; 9:1-10; 10:1-10). Some of
these passages do not refer to religious but to the actual fact of
worship, but that they will also apply to the years which succeeded
is only too likely; and that points to the fact in this way cannot have been

1. The religious 8:1; 9:1; 10:1; 11:1; 12:1; 13:1; 14:1; 15:1; 16:1; 17:1; 18:1; 19:1; 20:1; 21:1; 22:1; 23:1; 24:1; 25:1; 26:1; 27:1; 28:1; 29:1; 30:1; 31:1; 32:1; 33:1; 34:1; 35:1; 36:1; 37:1; 38:1; 39:1; 40:1; 41:1; 42:1; 43:1; 44:1; 45:1; 46:1; 47:1; 48:1; 49:1; 50:1; 51:1; 52:1; 53:1; 54:1; 55:1; 56:1; 57:1; 58:1; 59:1; 60:1; 61:1; 62:1; 63:1; 64:1; 65:1; 66:1; 67:1; 68:1; 69:1; 70:1; 71:1; 72:1; 73:1; 74:1; 75:1; 76:1; 77:1; 78:1; 79:1; 80:1; 81:1; 82:1; 83:1; 84:1; 85:1; 86:1; 87:1; 88:1; 89:1; 90:1; 91:1; 92:1; 93:1; 94:1; 95:1; 96:1; 97:1; 98:1; 99:1; 100:1; 101:1; 102:1; 103:1; 104:1; 105:1; 106:1; 107:1; 108:1; 109:1; 110:1; 111:1; 112:1; 113:1; 114:1; 115:1; 116:1; 117:1; 118:1; 119:1; 120:1; 121:1; 122:1; 123:1; 124:1; 125:1; 126:1; 127:1; 128:1; 129:1; 130:1; 131:1; 132:1; 133:1; 134:1; 135:1; 136:1; 137:1; 138:1; 139:1; 140:1; 141:1; 142:1; 143:1; 144:1; 145:1; 146:1; 147:1; 148:1; 149:1; 150:1; 151:1; 152:1; 153:1; 154:1; 155:1; 156:1; 157:1; 158:1; 159:1; 160:1; 161:1; 162:1; 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592:1; 593:1; 594:1; 595:1; 596:1; 597:1; 598:1; 599:1; 600:1; 601:1; 602:1; 603:1; 604:1; 605:1; 606:1; 607:1; 608:1; 609:1; 610:1; 611:1; 612:1; 613:1; 614:1; 615:1; 616:1; 617:1; 618:1; 619:1; 620:1; 621:1; 622:1; 623:1; 624:1; 625:1; 626:1; 627:1; 628:1; 629:1; 630:1; 631:1; 632:1; 633:1; 634:1; 635:1; 636:1; 637:1; 638:1; 639:1; 640:1; 641:1; 642:1; 643:1; 644:1; 645:1; 646:1; 647:1; 648:1; 649:1; 650:1; 651:1; 652:1; 653:1; 654:1; 655:1; 656:1; 657:1; 658:1; 659:1; 660:1; 661:1; 662:1; 663:1; 664:1; 665:1; 666:1; 667:1; 668:1; 669:1; 670:1; 671:1; 672:1; 673:1; 674:1; 675:1; 676:1; 677:1; 678:1; 679:1; 680:1; 681:1; 682:1; 683:1; 684:1; 685:1; 686:1; 687:1; 688:1; 689:1; 690:1; 691:1; 692:1; 693:1; 694:1; 695:1; 696:1; 697:1; 698:1; 699:1; 700:1; 701:1; 702:1; 703:1; 704:1; 705:1; 706:1; 707:1; 708:1; 709:1; 710:1; 711:1; 712:1; 713:1; 714:1; 715:1; 716:1; 717:1; 718:1; 719:1; 720:1; 721:1; 722:1; 723:1; 724:1; 725:1; 726:1; 727:1; 728:1; 729:1; 730:1; 731:1; 732:1; 733:1; 734:1; 735:1; 736:1; 737:1; 738:1; 739:1; 740:1; 741:1; 742:1; 743:1; 744:1; 745:1; 746:1; 747:1; 748:1; 749:1; 750:1; 751:1; 752:1; 753:1; 754:1; 755:1; 756:1; 757:1; 758:1; 759:1; 760:1; 761:1; 762:1; 763:1; 764:1; 765:1; 766:1; 767:1; 768:1; 769:1; 770:1; 771:1; 772:1; 773:1; 774:1; 775:1; 776:1; 777:1; 778:1; 779:1; 780:1; 781:1; 782:1; 783:1; 784:1; 785:1; 786:1; 787:1; 788:1; 789:1; 790:1; 791:1; 792:1; 793:1; 794:1; 795:1; 796:1; 797:1; 798:1; 799:1; 800:1; 801:1; 802:1; 803:1; 804:1; 805:1; 806:1; 807:1; 808:1; 809:1; 810:1; 811:1; 812:1; 813:1; 814:1; 815:1; 816:1; 817:1; 818:1; 819:1; 820:1; 821:1; 822:1; 823:1; 824:1; 825:1; 826:1; 827:1; 828:1; 829:1; 830:1; 831:1; 832:1; 833:1; 834:1; 835:1; 836:1; 837:1; 838:1; 839:1; 840:1; 841:1; 842:1; 843:1; 844:1; 845:1; 846:1; 847:1; 848:1; 849:1; 850:1; 851:1; 852:1; 853:1; 854:1; 855:1; 856:1; 857:1; 858:1; 859:1; 860:1; 861:1; 862:1; 863:1; 864:1; 865:1; 866:1; 867:1; 868:1; 869:1; 870:1; 871:1; 872:1; 873:1; 874:1; 875:1; 876:1; 877:1; 878:1; 879:1; 880:1; 881:1; 882:1; 883:1; 884:1; 885:1; 886:1; 887:1; 888:1; 889:1; 890:1; 891:1; 892:1; 893:1; 894:1; 895:1; 896:1; 897:1; 898:1; 899:1; 900:1; 901:1; 902:1; 903:1; 904:1; 905:1; 906:1; 907:1; 908:1; 909:1; 910:1; 911:1; 912:1; 913:1; 914:1; 915:1; 916:1; 917:1; 918:1; 919:1; 920:1; 921:1; 922:1; 923:1; 924:1; 925:1; 926:1; 927:1; 928:1; 929:1; 930:1; 931:1; 932:1; 933:1; 934:1; 935:1; 936:1; 937:1; 938:1; 939:1; 940:1; 941:1; 942:1; 943:1; 944:1; 945:1; 946:1; 947:1; 948:1; 949:1; 950:1; 951:1; 952:1; 953:1; 954:1; 955:1; 956:1; 957:1; 958:1; 959:1; 960:1; 961:1; 962:1; 963:1; 964:1; 965:1; 966:1; 967:1; 968:1; 969:1; 970:1; 971:1; 972:1; 973:1; 974:1; 975:1; 976:1; 977:1; 978:1; 979:1; 980:1; 981:1; 982:1; 983:1; 984:1; 985:1; 986:1; 987:1; 988:1; 989:1; 990:1; 991:1; 992:1; 993:1; 994:1; 995:1; 996:1; 997:1; 998:1; 999:1; 1000:1; 1001:1; 1002:1; 1003:1; 1004:1; 1005:1; 1006:1; 1007:1; 1008:1; 1009:1; 1010:1; 1011:1; 1012:1; 1013:1; 1014:1; 1015:1; 1016:1; 1017:1; 1018:1; 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1144:1; 1145:1; 1146:1; 1147:1; 1148:1; 1149:1; 1150:1; 1151:1; 1152:1; 1153:1; 1154:1; 1155:1; 1156:1; 1157:1; 1158:1; 1159:1; 1160:1; 1161:1; 1162:1; 1163:1; 1164:1; 1165:1; 1166:1; 1167:1; 1168:1; 1169:1; 1170:1; 1171:1; 1172:1; 1173:1; 1174:1; 1175:1; 1176:1; 1177:1; 1178:1; 1179:1; 1180:1; 1181:1; 1182:1; 1183:1; 1184:1; 1185:1; 1186:1; 1187:1; 1188:1; 1189:1; 1190:1; 1191:1; 1192:1; 1193:1; 1194:1; 1195:1; 1196:1; 1197:1; 1198:1; 1199:1; 1200:1; 1201:1; 1202:1; 1203:1; 1204:1; 1205:1; 1206:1; 1207:1; 1208:1; 1209:1; 1210:1; 1211:1; 1212:1; 1213:1; 1214:1; 1215:1; 1216:1; 1217:1; 1218:1; 1219:1; 1220:1; 1221:1; 1222:1; 1223:1; 1224:1; 1225:1; 1226:1; 1227:1; 1228:1; 1229:1; 1230:1; 1231:1; 1232:1; 1233:1; 1234:1; 1235:1; 1236:1; 1237:1; 1238:1; 1239:1; 1240:1; 1241:1; 1242:1; 1243:1; 1244:1; 1245:1; 1246:1; 1247:1; 1248:1; 1249:1; 1250:1; 1251:1; 1252:1; 1253:1; 1254:1; 1255:1; 1256:1; 1257:1; 1258:1; 1259:1; 1260:1; 1261:1; 1262:1; 1263:1; 1264:1; 1265:1; 1266:1; 1267:1; 1268:1; 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quickly eradicated."¹

To briefly survey this period we can say that the people must have been in a sorry plight during the first decade with armies roaming over the land leaving it in great suffering. "Her princes are become like harts that find no pasture, and they are gone without strength before their pursuer . . . All the people sigh, they seek bread."² Bitterness set in and they realized all too well that they were a vassal state. However, as time went on and Babylonia was occupied in other sections, peace began to set in and the people probably began to enjoy life, even though there were frequent invasions by the neighboring states. As the years passed by they must have remained in their peaceful submission to whatever their part might be, until one great day news crept in that a mighty power in the north was marching southwards and there was aroused hope of a release from Babylon.

"As the whirlwinds in the south sweep through,

It cometh from the wilderness, from a terrible land.

A hard vision is declared unto me:

The treacherous man dealeth treacherously, and the
destroyer destroyeth.

Go up, O Elam; besiege, O Media;

All the sighing thereof will I make an end."³

1. Oesterley and Robinson, Vol. 2, History of Israel, p. 57.

2. Lamentations 1:6, 11.

3. Isaiah 21:1-2

D. From the Rise of Cyrus to the Fall of Babylon

1. The Rise of Cyrus

Early in the reign of Nabonidus, the Babylonian king, Cyrus had appeared in the east as the ruler of the small kingdom of Anshan and the vassal of Astyages, king of Media; but this ruler of Anshan was not satisfied with his small kingdom and set out upon a period of conquests that was to instigate a new era in empire-building. Cyrus was forty years old when he assumed command of his small kingdom but thirty years later, when he was killed on the field of battle, he had practically all of the known world under his command. One of the most striking elements of his conquests was the ease in which he would conquer a nation; many times his army walked to battle and before a blow was struck practically the entire force of the enemy would join him. When he took Babylon, no one was killed, he triumphantly walked into the city and maintained his command. He must have had a terrific personality.

Cyrus ascended his father's throne in 559 B. C. and probably for the years immediately following he devoted his time to the consolidation of his rule. After he had completed this unification he set out in revolt against Astyages, his superior ruler, and if we may draw conclusions from the sources we have, he was, at first, unsuccessful; but as time went on dissatisfaction arose in Astyages' army so when he "marched against Cyrus, king of Anshan, to conquer him, Astyages' troops mutinied, and he was captured and they gave him over to Cyrus."¹ This campaign took place in 550-549 B. C. Cyrus then took Astyages prisoner to his

1. Nabonidus Chronicle, quoted in Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. IV, p. 7.

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own country, but spared his life, as Herodotus says: "As for Astyages, Cyrus did him no further harm, and kept him in his own house till Astyages died."¹

Through this one conquest Cyrus had greatly enlarged his state and when news of it was cast abroad, great alarm set up throughout the rest of the world. However, there were only two kings that might cause him any great difficulty and one of them, Nabonidus, was weakened by internal decay; but not so with Croesus, the king of Lydia, because he was enjoying great prosperity. He immediately recognized the dangers involved in Cyrus and began plans to put him out of the way. "He made alliances with Amasis, king of Egypt, and with Nabonidus, king of Babylon, and from Sparta secured the promise of her fleet."² Under ordinary conditions this would have been enough to stop a new king, but not so with Cyrus; because he immediately began to unite his forces to set out against Croesus (547 B. C.). The same winter of 547 B. C. Croesus set out to attack some of Cyrus' dominions but with very little result. He soon met up with Cyrus and was completely routed. He fled to Sardis, where he expected safety from him until spring. However, the winter snows and rains did not stop Cyrus, because after Croesus had disbanded his army with orders to assemble again in the spring, he appeared and took the helpless king as prisoner to his capitol. Now almost the whole of Asia-Minor became a part of the empire of Cyrus.

It is quite evident that during this siege of Cyrus' that Croesus had sent word to Babylon and Egypt for help, but without any response; however the significance of this is, that these two countries were auto-

1. Herodotus, Book 1, 130, p. 207.

2. Rogers, A History of Ancient Persia, p. 43.

own country, but spared his life, as Aristotle says: "as for Aristotle,
Gyren did him no further harm, and kept him in his own house till Aristotle
died."

Through this one incident Gyren had greatly enlarged his realm
and when word of it was first spread, great alarm was up throughout the
rest of the world. However, there were only two kings that might cause
him any great difficulty and one of them, Nabuchodonosor, was weakened by an
internal struggle; but not so with Croesus, the king of Lydia, because he was
entering great prosperity. He immediately threatened the Lydians to leave
and in Gyren and began plans to put him out of the way. "He made alliances
with Persia, king of Egypt, and with Nabuchodonosor, king of Babylon, and from
these secured the services of his fleet." Under ordinary conditions this
would have been enough to show a new king, but not so with Gyren; because
he immediately began to make his friends to get out against Croesus (22).
The same winter of 547 B. C. Croesus and his army set out to attack Gyren.
Gyren, however, was with his little realm. He took out an ally Gyren
and was completely routed. He fled to Sardis, where he expected safety.
From his exile, however, the Lydians came and took him back to Sardis.
Gyren, because after Croesus had destroyed his army with Gyren's help,
assembled again in the morning, he answered and took the Hellespont as
prisoner to his capital. Now almost the whole of Asia Minor became a part
of the empire of Gyren.

It is quite evident that during this reign of Gyren, East Croesus
had sent word to Babylon and Egypt for help, but without any response;
however the significance of this is, that these two countries were under

matically made enemies of Cyrus and would eventually be called upon to explain their alliance. Before he did this though, he had to settle the affairs in his newly received domain by setting up a new government. This he did and then took many of the riches and valuables of the capitol to Ecbatana, his own capitol, and set out to boldly face the situation in the east where a few of his people were endeavoring to revolt.

2. Cyrus' Conquest of Babylon

That Nabonidus was unpopular with his people is clearly brought out through some of the inscriptions which we now possess. "His injustice, cruelty, and tyranny, together with the discontent inevitably aroused thereby, are evident from what this document (Persian Verse Account of Nabonidus) says, in spite of its mutilated and curt sentences."¹ And it is also true that when conditions of this sort arise, the people do not resist a conqueror, because their confidence has been shaken in their own ruler and they hope for better conditions under their new one. Such were the conditions in Babylon when news of the approach of Cyrus was spread abroad. That one section of Babylon rejoiced at the approach of Cyrus is plain from the prophetic writings of those in Babylon, and that echoes of this spread throughout the empire cannot well be doubted. "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him, and the gates shall not be shut; I will go before thee, and make the rugged places plain; I will break in pieces the doors of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron: and I will give the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou

1. Oesterley and Robinson, Vol. 2, History of Israel, p. 63.

and finally made a series of visits and with eventually for the purpose of
 making their alliance. Before he did this, though, he had to make the
 effort to first make himself known by sending us a new government.
 This we did and then took many of the laws and regulations of the nation
 to Babylon, his new capital, and set out to build up the nation
 in the same way as the old nation was rebuilding its walls.

3. Cyrus' Decree of Babylon

That document was written with his name in Hebrew, Greek,
 and through some of the historians which we now possess. This is the
 one, exactly, and exactly, a copy of the original, exactly as it
 is, and it is the same as the document (Babylonian Talmud) of
 (Babylonian) law, in fact of the original and our witnesses. It is
 it also says that when the king of this city, the people do not
 make a mistake, because their knowledge has been given in their
 and they have been under their law. And
 was the condition in Babylon when some of the people of Cyrus was
 found there. That was the condition of the people of the kingdom of
 Cyrus is plain from the evidence which of these in Babylon, and that
 account of this record throughout the entire record will be found. This
 with the fact to his mind, as Cyrus, those who have I have written,
 to make a nation before him, and the king shall not be able. I will
 go before him, and make the king's power clear. I will break in pieces
 the house of brass, and not in another way of brass; and I will give
 the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that I may

mayest know that I am the Lord, which call thee by thy name, even the God of Israel. For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel my chosen, I have called thee by thy name; I have surnamed thee though thou hast not known me."¹ Such talk as this surely must have caused great restlessness among the Jews, as well as the Babylonians. The prophet added many more and pointed prophecies to his work and through them the morale of the people must have slowly crumbled.

Nabonidus also must have realized the grave dangers of an advancing Cyrus because he showed great desire to rescue his gods from places exposed to danger. "From Ur and Erech, from Larsa and from ancient Eridu, from Marad and from Kish, the images of gods, renowned of old, were brought carefully within the walls of Babylon which Nebuchadrezzar had built, or rebuilt and strengthened. He would save the gods; men might save themselves. Let the ancient cities fall into the conquerors devouring man; the gods were safe."²

Cyrus began his conquest of Babylon in 540 B. C., and he had completed it by the late summer of 539. He had a large army, and with the assistance of Gobryas, a Babylonian, he accomplished the task with more rapidity than under ordinary circumstances. First, Cyrus probably came down to Arabia and drove Nabonidus from Tema toward Babylon and followed closely upon his heels. Cyrus' army was divided into two sections, one of which he commanded, and the other was under the command of Gobryas. Their coordination was perfect and their great military machine closed in upon Babylon with absolute accuracy. His first great blow of any consequence was at Opre, which lay on the Tigris to the north of Babylon. "In Teshri (October) Cyrus, when he did battle at Opris on the Tigris

1. Isaiah 45:1-4

2. Barton, Archaeology and the Bible, p. 444.

request that I on the land, which will show by the name, even the
lot of Israel. For I have up to now's sake, and I have my chosen, I
have called this by the name; I have named this though I have not
known as. I have said as this surely must have come from the
among the Jews, as well as the Babylonians. The people who were
and pointed themselves to his work and through the name of the
people must have been troubled.

Hebrews also must have realized the grave danger of an advance
by Jews because he showed great desire to rescue his people from places
exposed to danger. From W and W, from W and W, from W and W, from W and W,
from W and W, from W and W, from W and W, from W and W, from W and W,
seriously within the walls of Babylon which Hebrews had built, or
result and strengthened. He would save the Jews; and might save themselves
let the Hebrews fall into the hands of the conquerors, but the Jews
were safe.

Hebrews also must have realized the danger of Babylon in W and W, and he had no
doubt to by the late summer of W. He had a large army, and with the
assistance of Hebrews, a Hebrew army, he accomplished the task with
relatively little military assistance. First, Hebrews probably came
down to the Nile and from there Hebrews from the Nile followed
directly upon the heels. Hebrews were divided into two sections, one
at which he remained, and the other was under the command of Hebrews.
Their organization was perfect and their great military machine closed
in upon Hebrews with absolute certainty. The great Greek line of W and W
advanced was at Hebrews, which lay on the road to the north of Hebrews.
In Hebrews (Hebrews) Hebrews, when he did not see Hebrews in the Nile

against the troops of Akkad, burnt the people of Akkad with fire, he killed the people. On the 14th Sippar was taken without a battle. Nabonidus fled."¹ This gave Cyrus control of the canal systems as well as the northern section of Babylon. He then headed toward Sippar, near the Euphrates and about fifty miles nearer the capitol. Two days later the second army, under Gobryas, the governor of Gutium, marched unresisted into Babylon, and took Nabonidus prisoner before he had time to escape. This is recorded in the Nabonidus Chronicle as follows: "On the 16th Gobryas, governor of the land of Gutium, and soldiers of Cyrus entered Babylon without a battle. Later Nabuna'id (Nabonidus) was captured because he remained in Babylon. To the end of the month the shield-bearers of the land of Gutium assembled at the gates of Esagila. No weapon of any kind was taken into Esagila or the temples: nor was the standard raised. On the third day of Marcheswan (October - November) Cyrus entered Babylon. The walls were broken down before him. Cyrus proclaimed peace to all Babylon."² Here the text is slightly mutilated, but from what we may gather, Gobryas, after eight days, overcame the last remnant of opposition by killing the king's son. "In the month of Marcheswan, on the night of the 11th, Gobryas unto . . . the son of the king was killed."³ Cyrus then "appointed Gobryas his satrap"⁴ and returned the gods of Babylon to their places previous to Nabonidus' moving of them. Cyrus had thus achieved success in Babylon. He had practically set free an oppressed people, and was then appointed king of Babylon by Marduk, the Babylonian god. "Nabonidus, the king who did not fear him (Marduk), he delivered into his (Cyrus) hand. All the people of Babylon, Sumer and Akkad, princes and governors, fell down before him and kissed his feet. They rejoiced

1. Barton, Nabonidus Chronicle, p. 443.
3. Ibid., p. 443-444.

2. Ibid., p. 443.
4. Ibid., p. 444.

against the troops of Sargon. During the night of the 15th, he
killed the king. At the last moment, he was taken without a battle. Sargon
then fled. This gave Sargon control of the whole of the land of
Babylon. He then headed toward Sargon, near the
Euphrates and about 150 miles from the capital. Two days later the
second army, under Sargon, the governor of Sargon, marched unopposed
into Babylon, and took Sargon's treasure before he had time to escape.
This is recorded in the Babylonian Chronicle as follows: "On the 15th
Sargon, governor of the land of Sargon, and soldiers of Sargon entered
Babylon without a battle. Later Sargon, the (Babylonian) was captured be-
cause he remained in Babylon. To the end of the month the king's treasure
of the land of Sargon remained at the gates of Babylon. The reason of
any kind was taken into Babylon in the month: but was the treasure
raised. On the 15th day of Sargon (October - November) Sargon entered
Babylon. The walls were broken down before him. Sargon remained
peace in all Babylon." Here the text is slightly mutilated, but from
what we may gather, Sargon, after eight days, entered the last remnant
of opposition by killing the king and. "In the month of Sargon, the
the night of the 15th, Sargon and. . . the son of the king was killed."
Sargon then appointed Sargon his successor and returned the gods of Babylon
to their places previous to Sargon's coming of them. Sargon had long
achieved success in Babylon. He had practically and free an unopposed
people, and was then appointed king of Babylon by Sargon, the Babylonian
god. Sargon, the king who did not fear him (Sargon), he delivered
into the hands of Sargon. All the people of Babylon, Sargon and Sargon, between
and Sargon, fell down before him and kissed his feet. They remained

in his sovereignty, their faces shone."¹ With this fall of Babylon there fell the last of the great Semetic kingdoms, and another did not rise until Islam centuries later.

Cyrus took over the Babylonian palaces as his own and the city of Babylon became the capitol of his great empire, classed along with Susa and Ecbatana. Gobryas was appointed governor and he in turn appointed many sub-governors. Cyrus' title now was "King of Babylon, King of the Lands" which appears on most of his inscriptions. Indeed he was "King of the Lands" because he had not only added Babylon to his kingdom, but also the countries to the west -- Phoenicia, Syria, Judah, in fact clear to the borders of Egypt. For ten years now, his rule was to cover practically all of the civilized world, with only Egypt in the south and Greece in the north untouched by his mighty power. The conquest of Greece probably never entered his mind but a conquest of Egypt must have tempted him to the limit, although he never undertook such a campaign. That task he left to his son, Cambyses, whom he had appointed king of Babylon in the first year of his reign, because of his absences due to his conquests.

3. Death of Cyrus and His Characterization

Cyrus, as we have seen, had united "under his single sway what had once been the dominions of the Medes, the Lydians, and the Babylonians, and became master of the whole of western Asia, sovereign in Asia Minor which none of the greatest conquerors of Assyria or Babylon had ever brought under their sway, and at the same time sovereign in the east, far beyond the farthest limits to which these conquerors had penetrated."²

He undoubtedly felt that the eastern lands were of greater import-

1. Barton, Cyrus Cylinder, p. 445.

2. Gray in Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 4, p. 14.

in his responsibility, their faces were. "With this fall of Babylon there
fall the last of the great ancient kingdoms, and another day will
until some distant day.

From now over the Babylonian plains as his son and the city of
Babylon before the walls of his great empire, closed along with him
and Babylon. Babylon was a walled city and he in turn surrounded
with his government. "From this was the King of Babylon, King of the
lands" with power to rule all the lands. Indeed he was "King of
the lands" because he had not only ruled Babylon to his glory, but also
the countries to the east -- Assyria, Syria, Media, and others to the
west of Egypt. For the years now, his rule was in every part of the
all of the civilized world, with only Egypt to the south and Persia to the
north and west he was ruling power. The power of Babylon probably
never entered his mind but a conquest of Egypt must have secured him in
the limit, although he never understood such a conquest. That task he left
to his son, Sennacherib, who he had appointed King of Babylon as the third
year of his reign, because of his likeness to his ancestor.

2. Power of Egypt and the Conquest of Babylon

Thus, as we have seen, he ruled under his star-like name and
came from the kingdom of the south, the land of the Babylonians,
and became ruler of the whole of western Asia, extending to the north
which was of the greatest importance of Babylon or Babylon had upon
brought under their sway, and at the same time extended to the east,
for beyond the Euphrates there were many other countries and peoples.
He not only ruled the western lands but of greater lands.

ance than Egypt in the west, because he set out on a campaign into the far northeast where he aimed at two people. "The first part of the movement was directed against the Dahae of Parthia, and thence, presumably, against the Massagetai, a tribe beyond the Jaxartes."¹ However, it was on this campaign that Cyrus met his death (529 B. C.) and by a long tedious journey back home, his soldiers brought his body so that it might rest near the center of his early triumphs.

Cyrus was indeed the greatest of all generals in history up until Alexander the Great, and it was as a strategist and a commander of troops that we best remember him. He must have had a high moral character, and his governing of the conquered peoples showed great wisdom. However, the one thing that we remember him for in this paper is his tolerance of the religious faiths of his subjects, because he did not endeavor to stamp his religion on a people, but on the contrary he endeavored to encourage and strengthen that which they already possessed and to this phase of the subject we now turn with particular reference to the Jews.

E. From the Edict of Cyrus to the Close of the Century (538-500)

1. The Edict of Cyrus and the Return

That Cyrus was exceedingly tolerant to his captured people is a well established fact and that he was tolerant to the Jews in Babylon is testified for, through several sources. The edict that Cyrus issued at his capture of Babylon in 538 B. C., for the return of the Jews to Palestine to rebuild their temple is the particular illustration in reference to our study.

1. Rodgers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament, p. 67.

and that there is the way, besides the way to a complete life for the northward where he lived at the time. The first part of the work was intended against the House of David, and the second, obviously, against the Pharisees, a tribe beyond the Jordan. However, it was on this occasion that Jesus met his death (33 A.D.) and by a long and alone journey back home, his soldiers brought his body so that it might rest near the center of his early ministry.

Jesus was indeed the greatest of all prophets in history and the Alexander the Great, and he was not a conqueror and a destroyer of nations, but we have known him. He was not a high moral character, and his government of the captured people showed great wisdom. However, the one thing that we remember him for in this regard is his tolerance of the religious faith of his subjects, because he did not endeavor to force his religion on a people, but on the contrary he endeavored to understand and sympathize with them. They already possessed and to this day of the subject we now turn with particular reference to the Jews.

2. From the Birth of Jesus to the Birth of the Church (33-300)

1. The Birth of Jesus and the Return

That Jesus was actually born to his father Joseph in a well established fact and that he was a Jew in the sense of the Jewish people, though several sources. The Bible that Jesus lived in the region of Nazareth in 33 A.D., for the purpose of the Jews to illustrate the Jewish people in the Jewish illustration in the Bible for our study.

The decree of Cyrus, issued in his first year in Babylon, reads in Ezra 1:2-4: "All the kingdoms of the earth hath Yahweh, the God of heaven, given me; and he hath charged me to build him a house in Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whosoever there is among you of all his people, his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of Yahweh, the God of Israel; he is the God which is in Jerusalem. And whosoever is left, in any place where he sojourneth, let the men of his place help him with silver, and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts, beside the free-will offering, for the house of God which is in Jerusalem." We may infer that this was copied from some other source, but such a decree was in absolute harmony with Persian policy and, indeed, a good policy; because it was perhaps the surest way of setting good-will in a newly acquired country. To honor the national deities meant that one of the most vital elements in the people's lives was appeased and the new rule was welcomed quicker. In the Cyrus Cylinder, Cyrus tells of his taking great glory in setting many gods in their original seats, and he also seems anxious to have the Jews worship their God in His holy temple, which would mean that some of the people would have to return home. Therefore, some type of a decree must have been issued for the return of the Jews to Jerusalem; but as to its exact form and wording we cannot be too dogmatic, all that we can definitely say is that Cyrus did permit the return of some of the exiled people.

Such a return as we so often have described for us would probably have been welcomed by Cyrus, if for no other reason than to rebuild the land of Canaan; but there was a greater problem in the restoration, because it depended upon the desire of the Jews to have their religion renewed. It meant personal sacrifice and the question is, did the people

desire to make the necessary sacrifice?

The Jews, during the period of the exile, had learned to get along without a temple, and probably the wealthier classes were not so anxious to leave their comfortable surroundings as the sources would have us believe. These richer people were probably willing to give their money but not so willing to give their time. Are not the Jews in New York and London today of this same feeling? Thus we may draw the conclusion, and rightfully so, that the poorer people and those deeply religious Jews religiously motivated returned, those who had not made such a success at business and life as some of their brethern. These poorer people were more anxious to begin life anew and where would be a better place than in Jerusalem?

Cyrus readily saw the need of a leader in this return and probably someone to govern over the province so he appointed a Jew by the name of Sheshbazzar to the governorship of Judaea. Sheshbazzar is probably the Shenazzar of I Chronicles 3:18. If it is, then, he was the son of the captive king, Jehoiachin, and uncle to Zerubbabel which makes him of the royal house of David, and would lead one to believe that he probably shared the royal dignity given to his family after the release of his father by Evil - Merodach in 561 B. C. This naturally makes him the logical Jewish leader to lead the people back to Judah in order that their worship might be renewed. He probably gathered about himself an escort of his own country-men and set out for the west.

How extensive this return was we have no means of telling, but might one venture to say that although they were the poorer class they were the most courageous. It takes little imagination to see that the

long, dangerous journey across the desert was not to be an easy one, and it required a great deal of courage, so we may safely draw the conclusion, that these people were the type needed for the task that laid ahead. The task of rebuilding the temple was to be a long tedious one and difficulty was to beset them at every hand; but with these courageous people, the task must have been made easier.

Another matter unknown of this earlier part of the return is how much was accomplished by those who returned with Sheshbazzar, but that it could not have been much is clear from what needed to be done in later years. The length of term he held as governor is also unknown and why he was removed is as great a mystery; but that he inaugurated a return, however humble is the important contribution that he makes.

2. The Rebuilding of the Temple

We must here remember that the sources for this period are very contradictory, and any construction of the history will be only tentative, and guesswork to a large extent; but in the face of all this, the following reconstruction seems the most probable.

Upon the return of Sheshbazzar and his group of followers they found the temple still standing, although in a dilapidated condition. We must remember that the temple must have been made of stone and many substances that would not burn, so when Nebuchadrezzar burned it, he was satisfied with leaving it in that destroyed condition and did not attempt to tear it down. The altar must have been still standing and sacrifices still continued, as we have already seen in an earlier part of our paper (Life in Palestine), but that there was much to be desired in the worship is brought out by Jeremiah's and Ezekiel's work. Yahweh was worshipped, but in a sickly fashion; one might say that he was worshipped in debasing

long, dangerous journey across the desert and into the city, and
it required a great deal of courage, as we may easily see from the fact that
that these people were the first to be killed for the cause. The
cost of rebelling the people was to be a long and hard one and difficult
and to be met at every hand; but with these courageous people, the
task was not too great.

Another writer speaks of this earlier part of the revolution as
being well represented by those who returned with the revolution, but that
it could not have been with it then. It was not until it was in later
years. The length of time he held as a prisoner in the hands of his
enemies was in great measure due to the fact that he was a prisoner, but
even though it is a long and difficult task, it is not too great.

3. The Revolution of the People
We must have remembered that the people for this period are very
contradictory, and any consideration of the history will be only partial,
and somewhat to a large extent; but in the fact of all this, the people
for reconstruction were the most valuable.

Then the return of the people and the return of the people to
the land of the people still standing, although in a different condition,
it was not until the people had been with the people of the people and
the people that would be seen, as when the revolution began it, the
people with the people in the hands of the people and the people
to be seen. The people had been with the people and the people
will continue, as we have already seen in an earlier part of our paper
(see in the appendix), but that there was much to be seen in the people
to be seen out by the people and the people, which was the people,
but in a different condition; one might say that the people were in the

fashion mingled with foreign gods. Those who returned settled with those living in the land, and although they greatly desired to rebuild the temple, they were too poor and those of the land who were accustomed to worshipping in the broken-down temple were satisfied and did not desire any change. The great need was for a great prophet to spur them on to greater heights. Probably these new people did not quite agree with those in Palestine in their views and ideas about rebuilding the temple, and perhaps, because of this friction, the work did not go on as fast as might have been desired. Perhaps an attempt was made at rebuilding the temple, but it was a feeble one and did not last long; thus the religion of Israel, though in a pitiful state, was kept alive as it had been through the years of the exile by those who had remained at home. It just eked out an existence during the first few years after the return as far as those living in Palestine were concerned. During these years of laxity in their religion they kept in close contact with their kin left behind in Babylon, where the religion of the Jews was a real thing. Those in Babylon must have become disheartened at the pitiful conditions in Jerusalem and set up a movement to better the conditions there. As it always happens a period of laxity is followed by one of inspiration and so it was here. This movement probably took a long time to get under way, but when it did start it traveled with a mighty force. Probably it took so long because of the lack of real leadership, so from 537 B. C. the date of Sheshbazzar's return, until 520 B. C. the feeling of resentment was slowly growing and culminated in the persons of Haggai and Zechariah with Zerubbabel as the political leader and Joshua as the priest.¹ This group

1. Zechariah 6ff.

of men gathered together another band of Jews, and led the second return from Babylon to Palestine which was destined for greater heights than the first.

Haggai and Zechariah were probably products of the exile, although it is nowhere stated as such. The only proof we have in the case of Haggai in the passage of Haggai 2:1-10 where he is closely related with the priests and scribes who molded what we now know as the Priestly Code. In the book of Zechariah we find several indirect references that he was a product of Babylon. For instance, he was the grandson of Iddo who, according to Nehemiah 12:4, was one of the priests who returned from Babylon.¹ At any rate, these two men were the type of men needed in arousing the enthusiasm necessary to rebuild the temple and that they did it is a well established fact because the foundations of the temple were laid the second year of Darius, and the temple was completed in the sixth year of his reign. "In the four and twentieth day of the sixth month, in the second year (520 B. C.) of Darius the king."² The completion is recorded: "And this house was finished on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year (516 B. C.) of Darius the king."³

The completion of the Temple must have called forth a great celebration by the offering of sacrifices and appropriate ceremonies. It must have been a joyous occasion and probably called forth songs of thanksgiving and undoubtedly some of them have been retained in the Psalter. Their feeling must have been embodied in these words of the Psalmist:

"God reigneth over the nations:

"God sitteth upon his holy throne."⁴

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1. Nehemiah 12:4, 16; Jacobus, Standard Bible Dictionary, p. 359.
 2. Haggai 1:15
 3. Ezra 6:15
 4. Psalm 47:8

of men gathered together another band of Jews, and led the women from
 from Babylon to Palestine which was destined for greater heights than the
 first.

Barth and Gombert were probably products of the early, although

it is nowhere stated as such. The only proof we have is the name of
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 the priests and writers who worked when we now know as the Chaldean
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 a product of Babylon. For instance, he was the grandson of that who, ac-
 cording to Jeremiah 1:14, was one of the writers who returned from Babylon.

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 (520 B. C.) of Darius the king. The completion is recorded: "and this
 house was finished on the third day of the month Elul, which was in the
 sixth year (516 B. C.) of Darius the king."

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 bration by the offering of sacrifices and appropriate ceremonies. It must
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 Every man and woman of them have been referred to in the Psalter.
 Their calling must have been recorded in those words of the Psalmist:

"God reigneth over the nations:

"God siteth upon his holy throne."

1. Jeremiah 1:14, 15; Daniel, Standard Bible Society, p. 220.
 2. Daniel 5:10
 3. Ezra 6:15
 4. Psalm 113

But the great fact was that Judaism had a home. The Jews feel once more that God was again dwelling in their midst and this was a great source of joy and hope to all members of the race, no matter where they were. Sacrifices were once again offered in great pomp and Israel felt that they were once again a nation among the nations. That which kept life in the heart of every Jew was once again worthy of their fullest devotion and recognition: the home of their God.

3. After the Task Had Been Completed

We have seen that the temple was completed in 516 B. C. under the leadership of Haggai and Zechariah but as to knowledge of the life of the people which followed this great event we are at a loss. The next date which we have is 72 years later when Ezra returned from Babylon to Jerusalem in the seventh year of Artaxerxes I, the king.¹ Thus, from 516 B. C. until 444 B. C., we must go without any reliable information unless we can classify Isaiah 56-66 and the book of Malachi as fitting into this period, and this can be done as we have seen. Assuming that these parts of scripture belong to this period we may gain some knowledge as to the religious and social conditions of the Palestinian Jews.

From Isaiah 56:1-8 we may gather that they were living in comparative peaceableness with their neighbors and were observing the religious practices under the guidance of those who had a keen insight into the meaning of the laws. They were now looking forward to those Jews who were in other lands to return because "The Lord which gathereth the outcasts of Israel saith, Yet will I gather others to him, beside his own that are gathered." However, they were looking forward to something even greater

1. See next page for this foot-note.

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 great source of joy and hope to all members of the race, no matter where
 they were. Sacrifices were once again offered in great power and Israel
 felt that they were once again a nation among the nations. That which
 kept life in the heart of every Jew was once again worthy of their fullest
 devotion and recognition: the gift of their God.

3. After the Fast had been completed

We have seen that the people was overjoyed in the B. C. under the
 leadership of Haggai and Zerubbabel but as to knowledge of the life of the
 people which followed this great event we are at a loss. The next date
 which we have is 52 years later when Ezra returned from Babylon to Jeru-
 salem in the seventh year of Artaxerxes I, the king. I think it is B. C. 458.
 Until the B. C. we must go without any reliable information unless we
 can clearly establish B. C. and the book of Daniel as relating into this
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 of Israel saith, Yet will I gather others to him, beside his own that are
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in the immediate and glorious exaltation of their nation before all the people. The prophets had promised a great Messianic day and when it failed to arrive as soon as they expected, they began to lose their enthusiasm and their faith. "Mankind had not yet learned the lesson of patience, so that when the coming years brought no fulfilment, hopes were succeeded by the bitterest of disillusionment."² They continued outwardly to carry on their religion wherein their inward feelings were waning. It became mere formality.

Another element of life during this period is referred to in that they probably had much suffering. The poor were probably oppressed; and hunger and want were factors which were quite prevalent during this period; they were even lacking the proper clothes for their bodies: "That thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh".³ Practically all of Isaiah 58 deals with these pitiful conditions in Palestine. Further than this the moral conditions were low, justice was corrupt, and there was a great indifference toward the sufferings of the people.⁴ We must not take this to mean that there were no faithful people left, because there were a few, as Malachi would have us believe, who remained faithful to their God. This small group of faithful people saved the day from disaster and this little prayer is a beautiful example of their feelings:

"Let me not be ashamed,
For I put my trust in thee;
Let integrity and uprightness preserve me,
For I wait on thee."⁵

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1. It seems probable that the same Artaxerxes is meant in Ezra 7:7-8 and Nehemiah 2:1. If this is true and Ezra came in the seventh year of his reign and Nehemiah in the twelfth, then Ezra preceeded Nehemiah as the leader of the Palestinian community. (Oesterley and Robinson, Vol. 2, History of Israel, p. 114f.).
2. Kent, A History of the Jewish People, p. 153
3. Isaiah 58:7
4. Isaiah 59:1-15; Malachi 2:14-16; 3:7, 15.
5. Psalm 25:20, 2.

"By their fidelity and suffering they preserved the faith in Jehovah, inherited by their race, during the critical years preceding the advent of Nehemiah, and stood ready to unite in raising the standards of reform, when circumstances were favorable, and when the Lord 'Should send his messenger, who would prepare his way before him.'¹²

1. Malachi 3:1

2. Kent, History of the Jewish People, p. 166.

"By their fidelity and suffering they preserved the faith in
Jehovah, testified by their race, during the critical years preceding
the advent of Jehovah, and stood ready to unite in raising the altar
and of refuge, when circumstances were favorable, and when the Lord
'Should send His messenger, who would prepare His way before him.' 102

II

The Literary Output of the Sixth Century

A. The Fruits of Their Labor

Introduction Before the fall of Jerusalem the Jewish people devoted their attention to the rapid activity of political events, and amid them they found it of the greatest difficulty to eke out a mere existence. They did not find the time to heed the voice of the prophet, and indeed when they did find the time they conceived his message to be false and would not heed it. One needs only to watch Jeremiah in his never dying protestations against the idolatry of the people to see this fact brought out in bold type. However, after the exile, the situation was different. The people now lived in a strange land, at least the most intellectual element of them did, and we must look to them for the continuation of the real customs and literature of the people, even though their lives were barren of the events which had hitherto occupied their attention. They no longer lived in the present, but in the memories of what had once been, and their only hope now lay in the future. "The more intensely they thought of that future, which they firmly believed held for them the possibilities of a renewed national life, the more earnestly they studied the past, to learn how they might avoid its mistakes."¹

The exile also gave the Jews a realization of the unique value of their sacred writings which gave them a new interest in life and from this new interest the exile became one of the greatest, if not the great-

1. Kent, A History of the Jewish People, p. 59.

The Literary Output of the Fifth Century

A. The Poets of Their Period

Introduction Before the Fall of Jerusalem the Jewish people

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and then they found it of the greatest difficulty to do so. It was
evident. They did not find the time to read the voice of the prophet,
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intellectual element of them did, and so they looked upon the non-
distinction of the real nation and literature of the people, even though
their lives were better of the words which had already enriched their
element. They no longer lived in the present, but in the worship of
what had now been, and their only hope now lay in the future. The
one intensely longed for that future, with their hearts full of
hope for that the possibilities of a renewed national life, the more
earnestly they studied the past, to learn how they might avoid its dis-
asters.

The exile also gave the Jews a realization of the unique value of
their sacred writings which gave them a new interest in life and in
the new Testament the exile brought out of the present, it was the great-

est, period of literary activity in the history of Israel which makes the epoch of tremendous importance. "This intellectual movement was in part due to inner development, in part to the effect of the environment. In the first place, with the passing away of the kingdom, there arose a desire to collect and arrange the records of the past, as well as the scattered fragments of its literature. There came the work of the re-forming school, which reasserted itself in the exile after its policy had been vindicated by events. In its interest, earlier documents were edited, remodelled, and supplemented, so as to bring them into accord with the teachings of history and providence. Of spontaneous literary work, that of projecting a new ritual for the future restored Israel, was of epoch-making significance. Nor did the living words of prophecy fail to find a permanent record."¹

The power behind this great output was, as we have seen, multiple and perhaps one of the greatest reasons that the priests did the writing, instead of others, was that they were ~~now~~ without an official position. The priests no longer had a temple in which to conduct sacrifices, but their interest in the edification of their people was as great as ever - so their only hope of keeping their people informed was through the tongue and pen. The priests, as a result, probably did much preaching, but their greatest energy, by far, was in writing, because through that medium they hoped to reach, not only their generation but the generations still unborn, who would undoubtedly be privileged to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the old practices.

Another motive which brought about these writings was the feeling

1. McCurdy, History of Prophecy, Vol. 3, p. 380.

that Babylon might be successful in its policy of disintegration and the Jews would become absorbed. Those who had been carried away at the fall of Samaria in 722 B. C. had suffered this fate and these people now stood an even greater chance of losing their identity. The Babylonian religion was an attractive one and offered many allurements to the Jews. The Babylonian priests were the scribes who wrote legal contracts, as well as, the religious records and this was an example to the Jewish priests who saw their only hope of reaching the scattered people was through writing and nothing was so powerful in keeping alive their true identity as the memory of common national experiences. Thus we can see that the conditions they lived under, their needs, their patriotism, their environment, and their hope of reaching out to generations unborn, all contributed to making them a literary people.

Hebrew literature was influenced by the Babylonians in two distinct ways, which contributed greatly to its ease of understanding and reading. First, "the distinctness and regularity of form"¹ which the Babylonians had was taken over into the Hebrew writings. Up until this time their work had been more or less a disorderly jumble of facts and for the first time, with the exception of Amos, we find a symmetry of structure coming forth. This great development is plain when we view the writings of Ezekiel or when we look at the work of Deutero-Isaiah. The usual method, hitherto, had been to write separate discourses and then later they would be condensed, irrespective of their order. Thus the first contribution of the Babylonians to the Hebrew writings was systematization. A second contribution was the increased employment of arti-

1. Mc Curdy, History of Prophecy, Vol. 3, p. 381.

that religion might be understood in its policy of discrimination and the laws would become enacted. These are the laws carried over at the fall of America in 1863. It has suffered this loss and these laws have been an even greater source of losing their identity. The Babylonian religion was an attractive one and offered an alternative to the Jews. The

Babylonian priests were the authors of these legal contracts, as well as the religious records and this was an example to the Jewish priests who saw their duty was to restore the destroyed records and through writing and editing was to preserve in history their true identity as the source of common national consciousness. Thus we can see that the Babylonians they lived under, their laws, their customs, their language, and their hope of reaching all to a common end, all contribute to making them a literary people.

Babylonian literature was influenced by the Babylonians in two distinct ways, which manifested greatly in its state of understanding and reading. First, the distinction and regularity of form which the Babylonians had was taken over into the Jewish writings. In still this time their work had been more or less a disorganized jumble of facts and for the first time, with the exception of some, we find a symmetry of structure coming forth. This great development is found when we view the writings of Isaiah or even we look at the work of Isaiah-Lazarus. The usual method, however, had been to write separate discourses and then later they would be combined, irrespective of their order. Thus the third contribution of the Babylonians to the Jewish writings was a systematic attention. A fourth contribution was the increased employment of all-

ficial, or indirect methods of description embodied in the parable and allegory. Deutero-Isaiah, Zechariah, Ezekiel and many others embody this, which one can readily see upon reading their productions. Perhaps it was due to their freedom from the old binding traditions of Jerusalem that helped in using this great Babylonian trait, and that they lived among people who utilized it helped greatly in their understanding of its true value.

One further consideration of their literary output is the two schools that undertook this study of revising, compiling, and re-editing their previous literature. The first school has been called the Deuteronomic School - whose views of history were molded by the teachings of Deuteronomy. The results are seen in portions of the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, through a systematic attempt to justify Jehovah's dealings with the people. They viewed all calamities of the nation as the result of the nation's sins, due to lapses into idolatry, due to their failure to obey the Deuteronomic reform.

The second school has been called the Sacerdotal School which looked at everything through the eyes of the priests who had lost their previous occupation of offering sacrifices. They found work in the literary development and devoted themselves to the codifying of the ancient laws, especially the Law of Holiness (Leviticus 17:26) and compiling the code which we now know as the Priestly Code. Their primary aim was to transmit to future generations the ancient traditions of priestly usage. This Priestly Code was by no means new because its various elements had been known before but here we have "a collection of laws, set in a historical framework, furnished with a brief system of genealogies and chronology which extends in unbroken continuity from beginning to end."¹

1. Bennett, W. H., A Primer of the Bible, p. 8.

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The literary activity of the exile resulted in four distinct types: 1. Prophetic literature, 2. Legal literature, 3. editing of the historical books, and 4. Poetical literature, We shall deal with each of these in their turn.

Prophetic Literature

Prophetic literature as a whole has certain common denominators which can well be dealt with here. The prophets, as a whole, were men of speech and not writers so it will be well to keep in mind that the most of our prophetic books give us in literary form what was originally oral. This will, to a great degree, effect the literary form of the writings which we now possess; because the prophets were men of action and as time closed in behind them many stories gathered about their life and work that would be told in the accounts that were recorded of their earlier activity. "Least of all" Gray has said "were they literary men, personally withdrawn from the circles whom they sought to influence; by spoken word, but also often by their whole manner of life they made their appeal."¹

Thus by a survey of the prophetic books that we are to consider, as products of the exilic period, we may see certain stages through which the books passed; first, they were embodied in oral teachings, secondly, we may find autobiographical sections which the prophets probably told through their teachings, and finally, one may see certain biographical sections, which companions of the prophets, who had close companionship with them, told and recorded. In these were included the popular stories which had grown up around the prophet.

1. Gray, Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 169.

The literary activity of the artist resulted in four distinct types:
1. Propaganda Literature, 2. Legal Literature, 3. History of the Nation,
and 4. National Literature. The artist dealt with each of these
in their turn.

Propaganda Literature

Propaganda Literature as a whole has certain common characteristics
which are well defined with time. The propaganda, as a whole, was not
of course and not written as it will be well to keep in mind that the
most of our propaganda books give us in literary form what was originally
oral. This will, to a great degree, affect the literary form of the
writings which we now possess; besides the propaganda were not of course
and as time elapsed in printed they were stories gathered about their life
and work that would be told in the accounts that were recorded of their
various activities. "None of all" they are said "were they literary men,
personally withdrawn from the circles whom they sought to influence; by
spoken word, but also often by their whole manner of life they made their
propaganda."

That is a survey of the propaganda books that we are to consider,
as products of the artist's period, we say not certain others through which
the people passed; that they were regarded as oral teaching, essentially,
we say that anthropological questions with the propaganda probably said
through their teachings, and finally, one may say certain other material
teachings, and the conditions of the propaganda, and that these conditions
with their kind and recorded. In these were included the popular stories
which are given as around the prophet.

This process of compilation of the books is well illustrated by the book which bears the name of Jeremiah. According to this book, Jeremiah did not realize that he should record his prophesy until about twenty years after his call and then through some experience he became conscious that he was to write as well as speak. He then called Baruch, his secretary, and dictated to him. This first record was destroyed by the king with the result that another was written, which through the years that followed was added to by others and rearranged. Jeremiah is perhaps only one of the prophets who had the opportunity of seeing his own teachings written but this is a shining example of the process through which the prophetic literature passed.

Jeremiah To pick out the passages in Jeremiah that fall within the sixth century B. C. is indeed a difficult thing to do because the book covers a long period of history, longer than the life of Jeremiah, and has little unity. The order of arrangement of the book is indeed not one of time because "prophecies uttered in the reign of Zedekiah occur in the midst of those that relate to Jehoiakim. The Jewish captives carried to Babylon by Nebuchadrezzar are addressed in words of comfort, several chapters earlier than the announcement made to Jehoiakim that the event is imminent."¹ However, in spite of its great lack of order there are a few sections which can well be judged as products of the sixth century. The following may be considered as such:²

1. Chapters 13:18, 19; 22:24-37; dealing with the period of Jehoiachin.
2. Chapters 21:1-10, 13f; 23:1-40; 24:27-29; 32; 33; 34:1-22; 37:1-38:28a; 38:1-10; 39:15-18; dealing with the period of Zedekiah's reign.
3. Chapters 31:27-34 deals with the destruction of Jerusalem.

(See footnotes 1 and 2 on page 84)

This process of simplification of the book is well illustrated by the book which bears the name of Jeremiah. According to this book, which did not realize that he should record his journey until about twenty years after his fall and when through some experience he became conscious that he was to write as well as speak. He then called through his secretary, and dictated to him. This first record was destroyed by the king with the result that another was written, which for the years that followed was added to by others and rearranged. Jeremiah is perhaps only one of the prophets who had the opportunity of seeing his own teachings written but this is a shining example of the process through which the prophetic literature passed.

Jeremiah To what are the passages in Jeremiah that fall within the sixth century B. C. is indeed a difficult thing to do because the book covers a long period of history, longer than the life of Jeremiah, and has little unity. The order of arrangement of the book is indeed out of line because "prophecies uttered in the reign of Zedekiah" occur in the midst of those that relate to Jehoiakim. The Jewish captives carried to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar are addressed in words of comfort, several chapters earlier than the announcement made to Jehoiakim that the event is imminent.¹ However, in spite of the great lack of order there are a few sections which can well be judged as products of the sixth century. The following may be considered as such:²

1. Chapters 13:1-17, 18; 22:24-27; dealing with the period of Jehoiakim.
2. Chapters 21:1-10, 18; 22:1-4; 24:1-10; 25:1-10; 26:1-10; 27:1-10; 28:1-10; 29:1-10; 30:1-10; 31:1-10; 32:1-10; 33:1-10; 34:1-10; 35:1-10; 36:1-10; 37:1-10; 38:1-10; 39:1-10; 40:1-10; 41:1-10; 42:1-10; 43:1-10; 44:1-10; 45:1-10; 46:1-10; 47:1-10; 48:1-10; 49:1-10; 50:1-10; 51:1-10; 52:1-10; 53:1-10; 54:1-10; 55:1-10; 56:1-10; 57:1-10; 58:1-10; 59:1-10; 60:1-10; 61:1-10; 62:1-10; 63:1-10; 64:1-10; 65:1-10; 66:1-10; 67:1-10; 68:1-10; 69:1-10; 70:1-10; 71:1-10; 72:1-10; 73:1-10; 74:1-10; 75:1-10; 76:1-10; 77:1-10; 78:1-10; 79:1-10; 80:1-10; 81:1-10; 82:1-10; 83:1-10; 84:1-10; 85:1-10; 86:1-10; 87:1-10; 88:1-10; 89:1-10; 90:1-10; 91:1-10; 92:1-10; 93:1-10; 94:1-10; 95:1-10; 96:1-10; 97:1-10; 98:1-10; 99:1-10; 100:1-10; 101:1-10; 102:1-10; 103:1-10; 104:1-10; 105:1-10; 106:1-10; 107:1-10; 108:1-10; 109:1-10; 110:1-10; 111:1-10; 112:1-10; 113:1-10; 114:1-10; 115:1-10; 116:1-10; 117:1-10; 118:1-10; 119:1-10; 120:1-10; 121:1-10; 122:1-10; 123:1-10; 124:1-10; 125:1-10; 126:1-10; 127:1-10; 128:1-10; 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929:1-10; 930:1-10; 931:1-10; 932:1-10; 933:1-10; 934:1-10; 935:1-10; 936:1-10; 937:1-10; 938:1-10; 939:1-10; 940:1-10; 941:1-10; 942:1-10; 943:1-10; 944:1-10; 945:1-10; 946:1-10; 947:1-10; 948:1-10; 949:1-10; 950:1-10; 951:1-10; 952:1-10; 953:1-10; 954:1-10; 955:1-10; 956:1-10; 957:1-10; 958:1-10; 959:1-10; 960:1-10; 961:1-10; 962:1-10; 963:1-10; 964:1-10; 965:1-10; 966:1-10; 967:1-10; 968:1-10; 969:1-10; 970:1-10; 971:1-10; 972:1-10; 973:1-10; 974:1-10; 975:1-10; 976:1-10; 977:1-10; 978:1-10; 979:1-10; 980:1-10; 981:1-10; 982:1-10; 983:1-10; 984:1-10; 985:1-10; 986:1-10; 987:1-10; 988:1-10; 989:1-10; 990:1-10; 991:1-10; 992:1-10; 993:1-10; 994:1-10; 995:1-10; 996:1-10; 997:1-10; 998:1-10; 999:1-10; 1000:1-10; 1001:1-10; 1002:1-10; 1003:1-10; 1004:1-10; 1005:1-10; 1006:1-10; 1007:1-10; 1008:1-10; 1009:1-10; 1010:1-10; 1011:1-10; 1012:1-10; 1013:1-10; 1014:1-10; 1015:1-10; 1016:1-10; 1017:1-10; 1018:1-10; 1019:1-10; 1020:1-10; 1021:1-10; 1022:1-10; 1023:1-10; 1024:1-10; 1025:1-10; 1026:1-10; 1027:1-10; 1028:1-10; 1029:1-10; 1030:1-10; 1031:1-10; 1032:1-10; 1033:1-10; 1034:1-10; 1035:1-10; 1036:1-10; 1037:1-10; 1038:1-10; 1039:1-10; 1040:1-10; 1041:1-10; 1042:1-10; 1043:1-10; 1044:1-10; 1045:1-10; 1046:1-10; 1047:1-10; 1048:1-10; 1049:1-10; 1050:1-10; 1051:1-10; 1052:1-10; 1053:1-10; 1054:1-10; 1055:1-10; 1056:1-10; 1057:1-10; 1058:1-10; 1059:1-10; 1060:1-10; 1061:1-10; 1062:1-10; 1063:1-10; 1064:1-10; 1065:1-10; 1066:1-10; 1067:1-10; 1068:1-10; 1069:1-10; 1070:1-10; 1071:1-10; 1072:1-10; 1073:1-10; 1074:1-10; 1075:1-10; 1076:1-10; 1077:1-10; 1078:1-10; 1079:1-10; 1080:1-10; 1081:1-10; 1082:1-10; 1083:1-10; 1084:1-10; 1085:1-10; 1086:1-10; 1087:1-10; 1088:1-10; 1089:1-10; 1090:1-10; 1091:1-10; 1092:1-10; 1093:1-10; 1094:1-10; 1095:1-10; 1096:1-10; 1097:1-10; 1098:1-10; 1099:1-10; 1100:1-10; 1101:1-10; 1102:1-10; 1103:1-10; 1104:1-10; 1105:1-10; 1106:1-10; 1107:1-10; 1108:1-10; 1109:1-10; 1110:1-10; 1111:1-10; 1112:1-10; 1113:1-10; 1114:1-10; 1115:1-10; 1116:1-10; 1117:1-10; 1118:1-10; 1119:1-10; 1120:1-10; 1121:1-10; 1122:1-10; 1123:1-10; 1124:1-10; 1125:1-10; 1126:1-10; 1127:1-10; 1128:1-10; 1129:1-10; 1130:1-10; 1131:1-10; 1132:1-10; 1133:1-10; 1134:1-10; 1135:1-10; 1136:1-10; 1137:1-10; 1138:1-10; 1139:1-10; 1140:1-10; 1141:1-10; 1142:1-10; 1143:1-10; 1144:1-10; 1145:1-10; 1146:1-10; 1147:1-10; 1148:1-10; 1149:1-10; 1150:1-10; 1151:1-10; 1152:1-10; 1153:1-10; 1154:1-10; 1155:1-10; 1156:1-10; 1157:1-10; 1158:1-10; 1159:1-10; 1160:1-10; 1161:1-10; 1162:1-10; 1163:1-10; 1164:1-10; 1165:1-10; 1166:1-10; 1167:1-10; 1168:1-10; 1169:1-10; 1170:1-10; 1171:1-10; 1172:1-10; 1173:1-10; 1174:1-10; 1175:1-10; 1176:1-10; 1177:1-10; 1178:1-10; 1179:1-10; 1180:1-10; 1181:1-10; 1182:1-10; 1183:1-10; 1184:1-10; 1185:1-10; 1186:1-10; 1187:1-10; 1188:1-10; 1189:1-10; 1190:1-10; 1191:1-10; 1192:1-10; 1193:1-10; 1194:1-10; 1195:1-10; 1196:1-10; 1197:1-10; 1198:1-10; 1199:1-10; 1200:1-

4. Chapters 38:28b; 39:3-14; 40-44; 50-51 deal with the period after the fall of Jerusalem.

The joyous part of this is that Jeremiah's message and character far outweigh the value of the writings because we have so much uncertainty about the specific author; but that the record we have embodies Jeremiah's message is not doubted. He has well been called the greatest of the Old Testament prophets because of his great contribution to the moral and religious development of his day. Because he covers periods in two centuries, it will be well to consider his message as a whole.

Jeremiah carried on the blazing message of his predecessors in proclaiming the righteousness and love of God which he exalted to the foundation of an ethical monotheism. He could see nothing ahead but Israel's downfall as long as they mixed in international politics and left their moral and religious life to the wind. Their only hope of salvation was through repentance and a desire to live pure lives.

We find two great conceptions in Jeremiah that his forerunners did not have. These teachings gave a clearer and more pronounced monotheism. First he claimed that gods of other nations did not exist, because there was only one true God embodied in Jehovah. "They are a vanity, a work of delusion, in the time of their visitations they shall perish. But the Lord is the true God; he is the living God, and an everlasting king; at his wrath the earth trembles, and the nations are not able to abide his indignation."³ He later says: "Are there any among the nations of the heathens that can cause rain? or can the heavens give showers? art not thou he, O Lord our God? therefore we will wait upon thee; for thou hast

1. Streane, A. W., Jeremiah and Lamentations, p. 30.

2. Gray, A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 193.

3. Jeremiah 10:15, 10 Peake, Jeremiah, Vol. 1, p. 60

4. Chapter 2: The Fall of Jerusalem (11-12)

After the Fall of Jerusalem

The joyous part of this is that Jerusalem's message and character
the message of the value of the things that are in the world
to show the people's nature; but that the people are not without Jerusalem's
message is not denied. It has well been said the greatest of the
Jerusalem's message is the great contribution to the world and
religion's development of the day. Because he knows the world is the
center, it will be well to consider his message as a whole.

Jerusalem settled on the Jewish message of his predecessors in pro-
claiming the righteousness and law of God which he wanted to be found
in an ethical revolution. He said we are not the same but Israel's
people as long as they stand in international politics but that their
world and religious life is the same. Their only hope of salvation was
through religion and a desire to live lives.

He told the great revolution in Jerusalem that the Jews were his
and were. These teachers gave a message and were wonderful revolution.
That he claimed that the Jews of that nation did not exist, because there
was only one true God worshiped in Jerusalem. "They are a people, a nation
of Israel, in the time of their weakness they shall be weak, but the
Lord is the true God; he is the living God, and an everlasting King; he
will stand the earth forever, and the nations are not able to shake his
foundation." He then says: "The Jews are the nation of the
heaven and the earth and the world and the universe and the
Lord is the true God; he is the living God; he is the everlasting King; he
will stand the earth forever, and the nations are not able to shake his
foundation."

made all these things."¹ Secondly, he claimed that the other nations will ultimately come to learn and acknowledge Jehovah as their God also, and this we find expressed by him several times: "at that time they shall call Jerusalem the throne of the Lord; and all the nations shall be gathered unto it, to the name of the Lord, to Jerusalem; neither shall they walk any more after the stubbornness of their evil heart."² Further he says: "As the Lord liveth, in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness; and the nations shall bless themselves in him, and in him shall they glory."³ Probably the most striking one of them all is to be found in 16:19, "O Lord, my strength, and my strong-hold, and my refuge in the day of affliction, unto thee shall the nations come from the ends of the earth, and shall say. Our fathers have inherited naught but lies, even vanity and things wherein there is no profit." These two ideas make God, without any question, universal and form the foundation of a missionary conception of Israel which we shall soon find prominent because of the exile.

But not only did he tend to universalize religion but he also individualized it and he is ranked with Ezekiel in being one of the greatest individualists of the Old Testament prophets. Jeremiah stressed man's individual and personal moral responsibility which is expressed: "In those days they shall say no more, the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge. But every one shall die for his own iniquity; every man that eateth sour grapes, his teeth shall be set on edge."⁴ Another element that seems to be creeping out in Jeremiah is the belief that the temple is no longer an essential element of religious or national existence which is expressed in chapters 7:1-15, and 26. Perhaps

1. Jeremiah 14:22
2. Jeremiah 3:17
3. Jeremiah 4:2
4. Jeremiah 31:29-30

this is due to his great foresight into the future when there is no longer to be a temple and the people were to be scattered over the entire earth far from their temple. Then he endeavored to stress that the obligations of religion are matters of the heart and not external law. "I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it."¹

To sum this all up one could say that "he was the first to break through the crust of nationalism to the glowing centre of religion. And he who first proclaimed the truth that religion is in its essence the communion of the individual with God, must forever rank as one of the world's supreme discoverers in the greatest of all realms."²

Ezekiel From Jeremiah, the prophet who foresaw Judah's doom, we turn to Ezekiel, a prophet, who lived in the midst of the doom and endeavored to keep his people sailing straight into the port of true Yahweh worship against great adversity. Unlike the book of Jeremiah, which has no chronological order, we find in the prophetic book of Ezekiel a perfect record of chronology. It is the best arranged book in the Old Testament and although it is "generally considered to be the most difficult in the Bible, it is certainly one of the most interesting."³ The book begins with the prophet's call and continues to its conclusion with a well organized group of well-dated prophecies. "The only exceptions to the rule are in the group of prophecies against the nations, where a later oracle on Tyre is placed in its logical order with the rest of the section on Tyre; the date in 33:21 (585) is earlier than that in 32:1, 17 (February 584) the text is uncertain; and the last prophecy on Tyre is inserted immediately after the prophecy (29:1-16) (586) which it is in-

1. Jeremiah 31:33b.

2. Peake, A. S., Jeremiah, Vol. 1, p. 48.

3. Lofthouse, Ezekiel, p. 3.

There is one to his great knowledge into the future when there is no long-
 er to be a people and the people will be scattered over the entire
 earth far from their family. Then he understood it was not the will-
 ingness of religion and matters of the heart and the natural law. It
 will not be in their hands, and in their hearts will be the will to
 to make this all in the end, but that the will to make
 through the great of their wills in the divine nature of religion. And
 he who first proclaimed the truth that religion is in the nature of the
 communion of the individual with God, was Luther, and as one of the
 world's greatest discoverers in the progress of all nations.

Isaiah From Isaiah, the prophet who foretold the coming of the Messiah.

we turn to Isaiah, a prophet, who lived in the midst of the Jews and
 understood to keep his people walking straight into the path of truth
 through which against great adversity. Within the book of Isaiah,
 which has an chronological order, we find in the prophetic book of
 Isaiah a perfect record of chronology. It is the best arranged book in
 the Old Testament and although it is generally considered to be the most
 difficult in the Bible, it is certainly one of the most interesting.
 The book begins with the prophet's call and continues to the revelation
 with a well organized group of well-defined chapters. "The only excep-
 tion to the rule are in the group of chapters against the nations, where
 a later stratum of verse is placed in the logical order with the rest of the
 section on Tyre; the date is 53:2 (53:2) is earlier than that in 53:1, 17
 (Isaiah 54) the text is uncertain; and the last prophecy on Tyre is
 inserted immediately after the prophecy (53:1-12) (53:1) which is in-

tended to correct."¹

The book falls into two halves and may well be outlined as follows:

1. Chapters 1-21, the coming of the destruction of Jerusalem.
 - a. Chapters 1-3, the prophet's call.
 - b. Chapters 4-7, the first cycle of threats.
 - c. Chapters 8-11, Jerusalem's sin and fall.
 - d. Chapters 12-19, }
e. Chapters 20-24, } two more cycles of threats.
11. Chapters 25-48, this section is mostly constructive.
 - a. Chapters 25-37, prophecies against nations, particularly those of special threat to Judah.
 - b. Chapters 38-39, spiritual conversion and restoration of exiles in a Palestine of freedom.
 - c. Chapters 40-48, a vision of a new temple, and of the city and country of which it was to be the center; the restored community.

We have in Ezekiel's writings the religious thought and activity of Israel in the exile in all its boldness. We have "the contrast between prophet and priest, the messages which they brought to the nation and the principles for which they stood; the contrast between their ideals for the nation and for the individual, and the consequent differences in their thoughts of God, the soul, and the world; the contrast between the speaker and the writer, and between the preacher who directs himself to the needs of the present, and the seer who projects contrast between the philosophic interpretation of national history and the inspired outbursts of religious

1. Lofthouse, Israel Before the Exile, p. 64.

The first table lists the names and may well be omitted as follows:

1. Chapter 1-11, the history of the destruction of Jerusalem.

2. Chapters 1-5, the prophet's call.

3. Chapters 6-7, the first cycle of visions.

4. Chapters 8-11, Jerusalem's sin and fall.

5. Chapters 12-14, the second cycle of visions.

6. Chapters 15-16, the third cycle of visions.

7. Chapters 17-18, the fourth cycle of visions.

8. Chapters 19-20, prophecies against nations, particularly

those of special interest to Israel.

9. Chapters 21-22, spiritual experiences and restoration of

Jerusalem to a position of freedom.

10. Chapters 23-24, a vision of a new temple, and of the city

and country of which it was to be the center, the restored

community.

The book is divided into two parts: the first and second

of which are the same in all the editions. The first part

contains the history of the destruction of Jerusalem and the

prophecies for which they stand; the second part contains the

visions and for the individual, and the subsequent differences in their

thoughts of God, the world, and the future; the contrast between the present

and the future, and between the present and the future itself to the reader

of the present, and the book the prophet's message to the people

interpretation of national history and the individual's attitude of religious

emotion; -- all these contrasts meet in Ezekiel, at once priest and prophet, inspirer of the nation and pastor of individual souls, the preacher to expectant audiences and the writer for future generations."¹ He took the lessons of the past which Israel had learned and drew from them an ideal future which could be attained through service to God. Through all his writings he holds the Old Testament together by taking the old and giving the new in its place. He bridges the gap between the Israel of the old sacrificial system and the Israel of Judaism. Ezekiel gave the people he lived with a religion; but greater still he gave the generations yet to come a religion, by transforming the old into the new.

The Ezekiel, that one finds by reading it the first time seems to be a replica of Jeremiah; but deeper thought reveals another story; because "what seemed mere enthusiasm for ritual now shows itself as a scrupulous and earnest conscientiousness, to which every command of God is important, simply because it is from God; which feels a single infringement of the law to be a breaking of the whole, and which is perfectly familiar with the truth, still only half learnt, that in religion the bodily and the mental, the inner and the outer, must forever influence and react on one another."²

One notices in Ezekiel an "overwhelming passionateness of nature" which breaks out in chapter sixteen when his outburst of rage thunders forth against a sinful and adulterous nation. We find it again coming forth in the fierce triumph of the weird description of the underworld in chapter 32. "With Ezekiel the passion does not always lie on the surface; he checked it, struggles to keep the upper hand, so to speak, pro-

1. Lofthouse, Ezekiel, p. 2.

2. Ibid., p. 5.

position -- all these conditions must be decided, at once, and given.
 character of the nation and system of individual souls, the position is
 extended and widened and the writer for future generations. The book is
 history of the past which Israel had learned and then it was an ideal
 future which could be attained through service to God. Through all the
 writings he holds the Old Testament together by seeing the old and giving
 the new in its place. He bridges the gap between the Israel of the old
 agricultural system and the Israel of Judaism. He gives the people to
 live with a religion; but greater still he gives the generation yet to
 come a religion, by transmuting the old into the new.
 The Bible, that one finds by reading it the first time seems to
 be a religion of Israel; but deeper thought reveals another story; he
 sees that Jewish life is not only a religion for Israel but also for all
 peoples and nations and even the world, to which every command of God
 is important, simply because it is from God; which gives a single language
 and of the law to be a speaking of the whole, and which is perfectly
 familiar with the truth, still with half Israel, that in religion the
 bodily and the mental, the lower and the outer, must forever influence
 and react on one another.

The outline in Jewish as "overwhelming passionateness of nature"
 which breaks out in other places from the surface of legal boundaries
 forth against a state and national nation. It is again a living
 force in the lives of the people of the world.
 in chapter 11. "With Jewish the passion does not always lie in the out-
 face; he speaks it, struggles to keep the inner heart, as he says, and

ceeds as if he were quite calm; and then he is suddenly mastered by the almost conquered foe and carried away."¹

His hatred of sin, yet his compassion for the sinner is another trait of Ezekiel brought out through his book. His continual rejection, by his people until the fall of Jerusalem did not color his love for them, because he had hope for a new day, but it must have been a great joy to him when his words were finally treated with respect.

As a writer he is free in his style and a great artist as one can readily see in reading his book, which is not, as most of the Old Testament books, a compilation; but is unmistakably from his own pen. He is as someone has called him "the architect of his composition." He is highly imaginative which probably is a product of his environment in Babylon. Ezekiel forms in this respect a new day in the art of Hebrew literature.

Deutero-Isaiah From Ezekiel's death in the early period of the exile until the rise of the great 'Unknown Prophet' of the exile, whom we shall call Deutero-Isaiah, there was no real living influence to keep the faith of the Jews alive in their God. During this period, brief as it must have been, the hopes of the exiled people rapidly fell. The beautiful day that Ezekiel had predicted did not appear and as the years passed a period of darkness settled upon the Hebrew mind. At this critical period "there arose a seer who spoke in the midnight darkness words, some of which have been preserved to us by an ardent disciple, the Deutero-Isaiah, who incorporated his utterances among his own."² These utterances we have in the four so-called 'servant-poems'," (Isaiah 42:1-4; 49:1-6;

1. Lofthouse, Ezekiel, p. 6.

2. Whitehouse, Isaiah, Vol. 2, p. 17-18.

needs as if he were quite alone and that he is actually sustained by the almost constant love and carried away.

His nature of him, yet his preparation for the other is another trait of Eschschol brought out through his book. His emotional reaction by his people until the fall of Jerusalem did not color his love for them, because he had hope for a new day, but it must have been a great joy to him when his words were finally greeted with respect.

As a writer he is free in his style and a great writer as one can readily see in reading his book, which is not, as most of the Old Testament books, a compilation, but is undoubtedly from his own pen. He is as one has called him "the architect of his exposition." He is highly imaginative which probably is a product of his environment in Babylon. There in this respect a new day in the art of Hebrew literature.

Isaiah's Exile From Eschschol's death in the early period of the exile until the time of the great 'Unknown Prophet' of the exile, when we shall call Eschschol-Isaiah, there was no real living influence to keep the faith of the Jews alive in their God. During this period, which as it will have been, the years of the exile would really tell. The period but only that Eschschol had breathed his last breath and as the years passed a period of darkness settled upon the Jewish race. At this critical period there arose a man who spoke in the midnight darkness words, some of which have been preserved to us by an ancient scribe, the prophet Isaiah, who incorporated his utterances among his own. These utterances we have in the four so-called 'Isaiah books', 'Isaiah 40-48:53-54:5'.

50:4-9; 52:13-53:12) and of them the most notable and impressive is the fourth, at least, it has exerted the most lasting influence over later Judaism and Christianity.

The term "Servant of Yahweh" as we have it in the poem seems to be a "personification of the suffering Jewish community" and this Jewish community is the exiles who were "faithful to Yahweh, who maintained themselves in seclusion from the idolatrous worship, magical practices and social institutions of the Babylonians as well as from the society of the degenerated fellow exiles around them, and thereby incurred the persecution and hatred which has been the bitter lot of the Jewish populations in Europe even now."¹

The prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah were composed near the close of the exile-period, when Cyrus was beginning to appear and hence he was hailed as the great servant of Yahweh who was to carry out the divine purpose of the restoration of the Jews to Jerusalem. More of this as we go along.

To come back to the servant poems, it will be well to distinguish between the meanings attached to the servant in the poems and Deutero-Isaiah. In the servant poems the servant refers, as we have seen, to the faithful Babylonian exiles; but in Deutero-Isaiah the servant seems to represent the entire Jewish race or Israel as a whole no matter where they might be. The servant poems present an exalted servant, one chosen to present Yahweh to the world, and to carry the light of divine truth to the entire heathen world.

These poems probably come from the period about 565-550 B. C. because they fail to reflect any hope of deliverance. Cyrus had not as yet started his great march to power. The race was in total darkness and

1. Whitehouse, Isaiah, p. 19.

despair and out of it came the old cry as to why the innocent suffer. The writer attempted to answer this problem of Israel's troubled heart; but a new solution is needed and is attempted. This time from "the mysterious path of atonement. For the first time perhaps in the world's history an altruistic ideal of life is set forth of the highest and purest type as a solution of the great enigma of pain."¹ Israel had been exiled to give the world God and this was the solution of the nation's plight. Israel was Yahweh's missionary and the glorious future of Ezekiel was only secondary because as we have it recorded: "to restore the scattered of Israel is a task too slight for my servant. Yea, I will make thee a light to the Gentiles; that my salvation may extend to earth's bound."²

"To sum these four poems up one could say that the first one (Isaiah 42:1-4) records the gentle modesty of the servant - his tender regard for others, and his unfaltering pursuits of righteousness. In the second (49:1-6) we learn something of his world-wide prophetic mission. In the third (50:4-9) we hear for the first time of the bitter scorn and contumely through which God's servant is compelled to pass and the steadfast faith wherewith he patiently endures it all, confident that God is near him and will vindicate him in His own good time against his adversaries. The vindication of the suffering servant is described in the fourth or final poem (52:13-53:12)".³

These servant poems make a profound impression upon Deutero-Isaiah, who was probably one of the most devoted disciples of their author, but he fails to remain on the exalted heights of his leader, although he still does hover around the upper regions. Cyrus has appeared and is evidently

1. Whitehouse, Isaiah, p. 22.

2. Isaiah 49:6;

3. Whitehouse, Isaiah, p. 24-25.

despair and out of it came the cry as to why the innocent suffer.
The writer attempted to answer this question of Israel's troubled heart;
but a new solution is needed and is attempted. This time from the sym-
bolic path of atonement. For the first time perhaps in the world's
history an alternative ideal of life is set forth of the highest and purest
type as a solution of the great enigma of pain.¹ Israel had been called
to give the world this and this was the solution of the nation's plight.
Israel was Jehovah's elect people and the glorious future of Israel was only
secondary because as we have it recorded: "To restore the kingdom of
Israel is a task too slight for my servant. Yet, I will make thee a light
to the nations; that thy salvation may extend to earth's border."²

To sum these four points up one could say that the first one (Israel
45:1-4) records the family history of the servant - his father's regard for
others, and his unflinching pursuit of righteousness. In the second
(46:1-3) we learn something of his world-wide prophetic mission. In the
third (46:4-9) we hear for the first time of the bitter scorn and scornfully
through which God's servant is compelled to pass and the steadfast faith
whereby he patiently endures it all, confident that God is near him and
will vindicate him in his own good time against his persecutors. The
vindication of the suffering servant is described in the fourth or final
poem (48:13-51:11).³

These several poems make a wonderful transition from Suffering-Servant,
who was probably one of the most devoted disciples of their master, but
he fails to remain in the exalted heights of his destiny, although he will
soon have among the upper regions. There has answered and is suddenly

1. Writings, Isaiah, p. 12.
2. Isaiah 45:1.
3. Writings, Isaiah, p. 34-35.

threatening Babylon so their deliverance seems nearer to realization. The restoration of the temple and rebuilding of the walls are conceived to be near at hand. That the universal ideal of missionary vocation still remains is true; but it takes a back seat when the hope of restoration appears. "The thought of the later poet chiefly revolves around the ideas of Yahweh's universal and invincible sovereignty and power and His unabated love for His people - Israel -- qualities which will find their triumphant manifestation in the return of the exiles and in the restoration of Jerusalem and its temple."¹

Deutero-Isaiah shows a beautiful blend of the highest spiritual and ethical ideals, which can be found in Jeremiah and his elder contemporary. He also shows the influence of Ezekiel in his nationalism, which must have been aroused by the appearance of Cyrus, which he utilized to revive the declining religious life and hopes of his fellow countrymen.

Haggai The prophet Haggai lived during the period of restoration and the book which bears his name was probably written by one of his hearers because we have throughout the reference to him in the third person. "In any case", Gray states, "the book was probably written ^{within} a year or two at the most of 520 B. C., and has reached us, apart from a little textual corruption and glossing, as it left the hands of its author."²

Haggai reaffirms the Messianic hope of the older prophets, only he adapts it more to suit his own age. He paints a picture of the future kingdom, an ideal of the restored temple as the religious center of the world with all the nations sending pilgrimages to it with their gifts.

1. Whitehouse, Isaiah, p. 28.

2. Gray, A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 226.

threatening Babylon as their deliverance seems nearer to realization.
The restoration of the temple and rebuilding of the walls are considered
to be part of the ideal. Thus the universal ideal of deliverance is still
realized in fact; but it takes a back seat when the hope of restoration
appears. The thought of the later post exilic revival around the temple
of Yahweh, a universal and inviolable sovereignty and power and the unshaken
love for its people - Israel - qualities which will find their triumph
manifestation in the return of the exiles and in the restoration of Jerusalem
and its temple.

Isaiah's teaching shows a beautiful blend of the highest spiritual and
ethical ideals, which can be found in Jeremiah and his other contemporaries.
He also shows the influence of Isaiah in his ethical ideal, which must have
been exercised by the appearance of Jesus, which he utilized to revive the
declining religious life and hopes of his fellow countrymen.

Isaiah The prophet Isaiah lived during the period of restoration
and the book which bears his name was probably written by one of his hearers
because we have throughout the reference to him in the third person. "In
my case," says Isaiah, "the book was probably written by me or by one of
the most of 550 B. C., and was written by me, and from a little before
corruption and glazing, as is left the work of its author."

Isaiah's teaching the spiritual life of the older prophets, only as
regards it more to suit his own age. He speaks a message of the future
kingdom, an ideal of the restored temple as the religious center of the
world with all the nations meeting there as it with their gifts.

This vision must be fulfilled and that is possible in a spiritual sense only. This book consists of four distinct, though related, prophecies, all belonging to the second year of Darius' reign, 520 B. C.¹

Chapter 1. On the first day of the sixth month (September 520 B. C.) Haggai appeals to the people to detain rebuilding the temple no longer, but to begin immediately. They had not refrained from building because of financial reasons alone, because some of them lived in panelled houses; further, their crop failures had been because of their neglect and had aroused divine displeasure. In order to regain Yahweh's favor they should begin to bring timber from the mountains and start restoration. These requests had the desired effect, because on the 24th of the same month Zerubbabel and the High Priest Joshua, began the work.

Chapter 2:1-9. The twenty-first of the seventh month (October 520) Haggai encouraged those who felt disheartened as they viewed the ruins of Solomon's temple and wondered how it could ever be restored to its former magnificance. The future, he declared, would greatly exceed its previous glory, because soon the Messianic Age would be established and the Gentiles would also contribute to its glory.

Chapter 2:10-19. On the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month (December 520) Haggai endeavors to again impress upon the people the importance of pressing on with the restoration of the temple. As long as it remains unbuilt, a taint of guilt is attached to everything that they do, and the droughts will continue until they have completed rebuilding; then will Yahweh's blessing rest upon them.

Chapter 2:20-23. Here is an encouragement addressed, on the same day, to Zerubbabel personally, as the representative of the Davidic dynasty.

1. Driver, Minor Prophets, Vol. 2, p. 152-153.

This vision was fulfilled and it was in a spiritual sense only. This book contains of four distinct, though related, prophecies, all belonging to the second year of Jesus' reign, A.D. 33.

Chapter I. On the first day of the sixth month (September 22, A.D. 33), Jesus appeared to the people to declare rebelling the temple no longer, but to begin immediately. They had not expected that Jesus would appear at this season of the year, because none of them lived in Jerusalem; further, their own fathers had been because of their neglect and had caused Jesus' disciples. In order to regain Jesus' favor they should begin to bring tithes from the mountains and start construction. These requests had the desired effect, because on the 15th of the same month Jesus and the High Priest Jesus, began the work.

Chapter II-III. The twenty-first of the seventh month (October 20, A.D. 33) Jesus encouraged those who felt discouraged as they viewed the ruins of Jesus' temple and declared that it could even be rebuilt in the twenty years. The future, he declared, would greatly exceed its previous glory, because even the Lord who he established and the Gentiles would also contribute to its glory.

Chapter IV-V. On the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month (November 20, A.D. 33) Jesus returned to again instruct with the people the importance of pressing on with the restoration of the temple. As long as it remains possible, a limit of eight is attached to warning that they do, and the temple will continue until they have completed rebuilding; then will Jesus' blessing rest upon them.

Chapter VI-VII. There is an important address, on the same day, to Jerusalem personally, as the representative of the Jewish dynasty.

He is assured that in the approaching doom of the heathen powers, his position will remain unshaken.

Haggai's literary style is comparatively simple and inornate; he lacks imagination and poetical power such as we found in Ezekiel. However, he does possess all the feeling and spirit of a prophet and his ministry was rewarded by the completion of the temple, which is a great deal more than the majority of the prophets received. "In his opening message Haggai evinced the first indispensable power of the prophet to speak to the situation of the moment, and to succeed in getting men to take up the duty at their feet; in another message he announced a great ethical principle; in his last he conserved the Messianic traditions of his religion, and though disappointed in the personality (Zerubbabel) to whom he looked for their fulfilment, he succeeded in passing on their hope undiminished to future ages."¹

Zechariah I - VIII Zechariah was a contemporary of Haggai and is of priestly descent. He began his prophetic activity shortly after Haggai ended, that is, what we now possess has that chronological order, but that they worked together is not doubted. His "prophecies fall into three clearly-defined parts, which may be headed respectively: 1. A call to repentance (1:1-6); 2. Visions of hope and encouragement for Judah (1:7-6:15); 3. Yahweh's promises and demands for the future (7-8)."²

Chapter 1:1-6 A call to repentance because one of the first requirements for the return of Yahweh, who the people thought had left them forever, was repentance.

Chapters 1:7 - 6:15 Visions of hope and encouragement for Judah

1. Smith, G. A., Old Testament History, p. 252.
2. Driver, Minor Prophets, Vol. 2, p. 174.

(1:7 - 6:8), with a closely related historical appendix (6:9-15). Here we have the central and most characteristic parts of Zechariah's prophecy. The visions center around the problems of the day, such as: how about prospects for a new future for Judah? They are well arranged and show how Yahweh's promises would be fulfilled, and all that seemed an obstacle would be removed. The answers contain an ideal or Messianic element which is determined by and accommodated to the historical conditions of the time.

Chapters 7-8 Here one finds Yahweh's promises, and moral demands, for the future. He says that Yahweh does not require a fast, but only the observance of His moral commands, which their ancestors had neglected (7:4-14). He ends his book with a decalogue of promises (Chapter 8), describing, the happy days in store for Judah, if only it will satisfy Yahweh's moral demands.¹

Legal Literature

The Code of Holiness (Leviticus 17-26) Ezekiel stressed the idea of consecration to Yahweh throughout his ministry to such an extent that it made a most profound impression upon the minds of the people to whom he preached. Indeed, the impression was so profound that one of his followers wrote down a collection of laws that would better help the people to attain this holiness. "The holiness of Yahweh is throughout represented as the motive for the attainment of holiness, moral, and ceremonial, on the part of his people. The words 'ye shall be holy: for I, Yahweh, am holy' (Leviticus 19:2) may be fitly taken as the motto of this code."² Undoubted-

1. Driver, Minor Prophets, Vol. 2, p. 176-177.

2. Kennedy, Leviticus and Numbers, p. 25.

(1:1 - 2:1) With a closely related industrial community (1:1-1:2) they
 to have the medical and other establishments of industrial workers.
 The relation between the workers of the city and the town
 community for a new future for them. They are still struggling and they
 how far they would be able to go, and all that would be decided
 would be removed. The workers would be able to establish themselves which
 is determined by and accompanied by the industrial conditions of the time.
 Chapter 1-2. The workers of the town, the town community,
 for the future. It says that the workers have not yet a right, but only
 the workers of the town community, which their struggle had suggested
 1:1-1:2. It says that the workers of the town (Chapter 1, 1:1-1:2)
 which, the workers have to state for them, it will still satisfy them.
 Social conditions.

Legal literature

The Code of Laws (Laws 1:1-1:2) Established between the town
 of conditions in the town through the relation to each other that
 it made a new system of laws in the town of the town in which
 he proceeded. Indeed, the workers are as prepared that one of his for-
 laws were from a collection of laws that would refer to the people to
 state the relation. The relation of laws is through the relation
 as the basis for the relation of laws, laws, and relations, in the
 part of his people. The laws he shall be able to help for the town, as help.
 (Laws 1:1-1:2) may be able to help in the town of this town.

ly the author did not entirely agree with Ezekiel in all of his entirety, but that there is a great coordination between them is plain because Ezekiel's influence is manifested throughout this code as we have it in Leviticus 17-26.

This collection of laws was made and committed to writing solely through the interests of the priests, but "the sacredness of the people does indeed culminate in the priesthood."¹ The priests should be ritually pure at all times; but this is done in order to impress upon the people that what is done by the priests should also be done by them in order to maintain Yahweh's favor. "For this purpose the people must be informed what sort of sacrifices are acceptable, what restrictions are to be observed by the priests, who are to eat of the sacred things. . . the author . . . is genuinely interested in informing the people how Yahweh would have them live."² This aim is expressed in his concluding tract when he orders the people to obey and promises prosperity if they do, but the sword and pestilence if they don't. "And yourselves I will scatter among the nations. . . and your land shall be desolate while you are in your enemies land; then shall the land rest and pay off its Sabbaths."³

The Holiness Code endeavors to distinguish between the sacred and profane, it endeavors to show that which is sacred and that which is profane. It enumerates a large number of offences against the moral law that are contrary to holiness. The first application of these holiness distinctions is in the food to be eaten. Swine are to be absolutely prohibited which is only one example. Swine were set apart, as most all the prohibited animals were, to be consecrated to some god, and swine were set apart as belonging to Adonis. Earlier thought was that the animal itself

1. Smith, Old Testament History, p. 337.
2. Ibid., p. 338.

3. Leviticus 26:33.

is the matter of the *entirely* *agreed* *with* *regard* *to* *all* *of* *the* *entirety*,
 but that there is a great *distinction* *between* *this* *and* *the* *other* *two*.
 This distinction is mentioned throughout this book as we pass it in

Leviticus 17-18.

This collection of laws was made and recorded as written early
 during the lifetime of the writer, but the substance of the people
 does indeed belong to the *past*. The writer should be careful
 here at all times; but this is done in order to impress upon the people
 that what is done by the writer should also be done by them in order to
 maintain a *pure* *law*. The law requires that people should be informed
 what sort of activities are acceptable, and that they should be so-
 leaved by the writer, who are as one of the sacred things. . . . The writer
 is greatly interested in informing the people how things would
 have been done. This law is repeated in his concluding prayer when he
 orders the people to obey and maintain properly if they do, but the
 word and sentence if they don't. "And yourselves I will punish among
 the nations. . . . and your land shall be desolate while you are in your
 enemies land; then shall the land rest and pay off the debt."¹

The Holiness Code answers to distinction between the sacred and
 profane, it answers to show that which is sacred and that which is
 profane. It enumerates a large number of offences against the sacred law
 that are contrary to holiness. The first prohibition of these offences
 distinction is in the food to be eaten. There are to be absolutely pro-
 hibited which is only one example. There were not only, as with all the
 prohibited animals were, to be consumed to some food, and there were not
 apart as belonging to man. Further thought was that the animal itself

was a god. All of this is a survival of a totemistic belief of divinity of animals which is a fascinating subject for study, but does not fall within our scope. The principle here is that an animal possessed of a demon could not be offered to Yahweh nor could it be eaten by his worshippers.

Holiness, in the use of the term here, works both for good and bad. One might come into contact with an unclean object and hence it would hurt him; on the other hand, some sacred object might hurt one, because it was too sacred. Extreme precaution had to be exercised because of these contacts. For instance, blood is life, hence it is to be eaten under no circumstances; fat is for Yahweh only, and should not be eaten; in burnt offerings the whole flesh was also for Yahweh and not to be eaten even by the priests.

Another element in this code is the discussion of marriage with its special degrees and various relationships. These prohibitions and suggestions must be followed out in order to attain holiness to God and to violate them was to violate God's commands; but this feeling as to the sanctity of the sexual life "represents a protest against the heathenism which had offended Yahweh in the past, and must not be allowed to rouse his anger in the future. The higher moral standard was made effective by union with ritual ideas. The term sacred or holy had not had ethical content; now it begins to have it."¹ This code thus has derived its "modern title from the fact that its regulating idea is that of holiness, moral and ceremonial, this being the special quality demanded of Israel by Jehovah."²

1. Smith, Old Testament History, p. 337.

2. Ottley, R. L., Short History of the Hebrew People, p. 218.

was a good. All of this is a survival of a primitive belief of divinity
of animals which is a fundamental instinct for study, but does not fall
within our scope. The primitive view is that an animal possessed of a
divine spirit and he offered no tribute but would it be asked by his wor-
shipers.

Animals, in the use of the term here, were both for food and for
the sight some thing of value as an animal object and hence it would
not exist in the other hand. Some sacred object might exist, but it
it was too small. Animals presented a field to be considered because of
their instincts. For instance, blood in life, hence it is to be eaten
under no circumstances; but is for human only, and would not be eaten
in kind otherwise the whole thing was also for human and not to be eaten
even by the animals.

Another element in this case is the distinction of marriage with
its special degrees and various restrictions. These prohibitions and
restrictions must be followed and in order to attain holiness to God and
to violate them was to violate God's commandment and this feeling as to
the sanctity of the animal life represented a certain regard for the creature
and which had effected itself in the soul, and must not be allowed to
cause the anger in the future. The higher moral standard was made ef-
fective by union with ritual ideas. The law seemed as only law and not
abstract concepts; now it begins to have it. This code thus has derived
the pattern from the fact that the regulating idea is that of
holiness, moral and ceremonial, this being the special quality demanded
of Israel by Jehovah.

The Priestly Code (Ezekiel 40-48) This holiness code was one of the earliest parts of the priestly code and the relationship of both to Ezekiel is plain because the use of many literary forms which appear only in Ezekiel are found in this code. Further study reveals that the entire priestly narrative which begins with the creation and goes through the conquest of Canaan in Joshua is a literary unit in the spiritual sense, but that it was written by one author was successfully denied long ago. It is as Brightman has said, similar to a law book in that it was continually amended. The authors of the Code show the influence of the Babylonian culture and they probably remained behind when the group left to rebuild the temple and restore Jerusalem. The Priestly Code must have been written close to 500 B. C. because it was not known by the group devoted to the restoration and was known by Ezra when he began his work, so a possible, indeed a probable, date is 500 B. C.

The Priestly Code is formal in its literary style, it often repeats and is abstract in its description of the Deity, while at the same time it is exact in its descriptions of objects, such as the tabernacle. The Code also has certain views about history which are peculiar to it. The historical sacred periods are four:¹ from Adam to Noah, Noah to Abraham, Abraham to Moses, and Moses to Joshua. The writer does not aim to give history in all of its stark reality but he moves in an "artificial and mechanical world of marvel." It is as Gunkel has said, "indifferent to history."

The Priestly Code has one single aim and that is to teach the ritual law, with its divine historical sanctions. It aims to give only the "history of the cultus" as Sellin says. "It is distinctly written in

1. Brightman, Sources of the Hexateuch, p. 207.

the earliest parts of the History Code and the relationship of both to
History is plain because the use of many literary forms which appear only
in History are found in this code. Further study reveals that the entire

History narrative which begins with the creation and goes through the
creation of man in Genesis is a literary unit in the spiritual sense,
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and is evident in the description of the battle, while at the same time

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Code also has certain views about history which are peculiar to it. The

historical periods are four: from Adam to Noah, Noah to Abraham,

Abraham to Moses, and Moses to Joshua. The writer does not aim to give

history in all of its stark reality but he views it as "artificial" and

"contrived" as Wrightman has said. "It is as God had said, 'I will reveal to

history."

The History Code has one single aim and that is to teach the ri-

nal law, with the divine historical revelation. It aims to give only the

"history of the culture" as Wrightman says. "It is distinctly written in

the interests of the priestly class, its functions, its prerogatives, and its prerequisites. The Priestly Code was perhaps written as a book for the people rather than the priests but it was none the less dominated by the priestly ideals."¹ Montefiore has said in the Hibbert Lectures that "its aim was to present a picture of Israel's sacred institutions as they should be, and as the author doubtless hoped that by means of his book they would become. On the precedent of older models, this desired ideal is represented as having been originally prescribed by God through Moses and realized in the distant past."² As a code it is distinguished in its fulness and elaboration, and by its limitation to ceremonial ordinances connected with sacrificial worship of the tabernacle, the rites of purification and atonement, the duties, revenues, and prerequisites of the priesthood.³

Its effect was twofold: 1 it played a vital part in the religious education of the people. It developed and deepened the sense of sin and awakened a deep spiritual religion in their souls. 2. But its dangers are evident: it would tend toward formalism, it would confuse holiness with moral purity, and the possibility of viewing it all as an external standard was too dangerously a reality.

Editing of the Historical Books

The horizon of the Hebrews was greatly enlarged when they went into exile, but they also had a new realization of what their past really meant so we find during this period an intense occupation with the past history of Israel. They were far away from the cherished homeland and

1. Brightman, Sources of the Hexateuch, p. 206.

2. Montefiore, Hibbert Lectures, p. 317.

3. Ottley, Short History of the Hebrew People, p. 299.

The interests of the literary class, the function, the organization, and
its principles. The literary class was always regarded as a force for
the people rather than the people and it was from this fact that
the literary class. It is not to be said that the literary class
was not to present a picture of the world as it is, but as they
would be, and as the author believes that the world of his day
they would become. In the treatment of other subjects, they would find
it represented as having been originally presented by the literary class
and treated in the literary class. It is a fact that it is distinguished in the
future and education, and by the distinction in educational organization
connected with scientific work of the laboratory, the rise of the
fiction and education, the history, literature, and organization of the
literature.

The effort was twofold: 1. It is to show a world that is the religious
education of the people. 2. It is to show the development of the world of the
world a deep religious religion in their souls. 3. But the religious
are evident. It would seem to be evident, it would seem to be evident
with moral purity, and the possibility of showing it all as an essential
standard was for the religious.

History of the literary class

The history of the literary class was greatly influenced by the fact
into which, but they also had a new realization of what they had really
found so far during this period in their connection with the world
history of itself. They were for the first time the literary class and

the memories of the past were too beautiful to be set aside so easily, There seemed to be no present, so the past loomed up all the more impressive. "Historical interest became more intelligently directed, as well as more intense, when the survival of Israel in its banishment was changed from longing to hope and from hope to certainty. The past must be viewed not merely as a great fact, but as a lesson; not merely as a discipline, but as a preparation. The humble dwelling of the scribe was changed from a study into a school. Thought and utterance shaped themselves by the ideals and obligations of a wider future."¹

The view of history was from that of the Deuteronomic reform and their present plight was because of their failure to live up to their promises to Jehovah. The false worship of Jehovah and the combination of alien gods into His worship were reasons for their desertion by Jehovah. This idea consumed the minds of the historians to such an extent that they do not give room for the actual details of the sins and crimes of the people. Their whole cry was that it was all due to the "worship of idols or of Jehovah Himself in an unlawful fashion."² Undoubtedly the scribes saw this was the only way that they could spur the people on to action, because it was necessary to present facts in obnoxious fashions which would let no compromise enter in. The test of any act was its coincidence with the Deuteronomic code, then and then only could that act be acceptable in the sight of Jehovah.

Upon these same lines we find the books of the Kings were revised and reconstructed during the period of the exile. The Books of the Kings are

1. McCurdy, History of Prophecy, Vol. 3, p. 283.
2. Montefiore, Hibbert Lectures, 1892, p. 232.

The members of the sect were not beautiful as he had made us realize. They seemed to be no present, as the sect found up all the more interest. Historical interest however was intelligently directed, as well as more intense, when the survival of Israel in the peninsula was changed from looking to him and from hope to certainty. The past must be revised, not merely as a great fact, but as a lesson; not merely as a discipline, but as a preparation. The Jewish dwelling of the nation was changed from a study into a school. Thought and experience shaped themselves by the ideals and obligations of a wider future.¹

The view of history was from that of the Hellenistic religion and their present climate was because of their failure to live up to their promises to Jehovah. The false worship of Jehovah and the combination of alien gods into the worship were reasons for their destruction by Jehovah. This idea concerned the state of the nation as such an extent that they do not give room for the actual details of the state and origin of the people. Their whole aim was that it was all due to the "worship of idols" or of Jehovah himself in an unorthodox fashion.² Evidently the worship was false was the only way that they could spare the people as to action, because it was necessary to present facts in accordance with the religion which would let no compromise enter in. The fact of any act was the relationship with the Hellenistic gods, then and then only could that not be acceptable in the sight of Jehovah.

Now these two lines we find the basis of the Hellenistic religion and reconstructed during the period of the exile. The basis of the Hellenistic religion was the Hellenistic religion.

1. History of the Jews, Vol. I, p. 242.
2. History of the Jews, Vol. I, p. 242.

are divided into three main sections: 1, the reign of Solomon, I Kings 1-10 (970-930); 2, the concurrent reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah, the divided monarchy, I Kings 12 - II Kings 17 (930-722); 3, the reigns of the surviving kingdom of Judah, II Kings 18-25 (722-586).¹

The distinctive element of Solomon was his building of the temple which centralized the worship, but his own religious infidelity is not overlooked. In the second and third divisions one finds a different way of treating the history. One does run across weak chronological data because of the difficulty of handling two separate kingdoms but on the whole it is reliable. Another element is "since the northern kingdom was founded under the auspices of the symbolical worship of Jehovah, this is regarded as the primary apostacy. Hence it was made a standing phrase descriptive of every northern king without exception, that 'he did evil in the sight of Jehovah' or 'walked in the way of Jeroboam (son of Nebat) who made Israel sin'. Of many of the kings of Judah a similar condemnation is given. Eight of them are commended, yet of all of them except Hezekiah and Josiah it is said that they fail to remove the 'high places'."²

A significant element which we find introduced into the book of Kings is the reference to certain historical sources. These named sources are: " 1, the books of the acts of Solomon, which is cited in I Kings 11:41 for the reign of Solomon; 2, the books of the Chronicles of the kings of Israel, which is cited first in I Kings 14:19, and seventeen in all, for the reigns of all kings of the northern kingdom except Jehoram and Hoshea; 3, the book of the Chronicles of the kings of Judah, which is cited first in I Kings 14:29, and fifteen times in all, for the reigns of all the kings

1. Gray, Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 77.
2. Ibid., p. 82.

of Judah except Ahaziah, Athaliah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiachim, and Zedekiah."¹ One gathers from this that the kings kept records of their reigns and that they were used as source material for the history we find in Kings; however this material in some cases must have been very scanty because some of the doings, for instance, Azariah, one of the most influential of Judah's kings received only seven verses (II Kings 15:1-7) to record his activities. However, scanty or plentiful as these sources may have been we find a new epoch in literature by references to sources.

It is interesting to note the method of handling the skeleton-like record of the reigns of the kings. As a rule the method of discussing a king is to relate him to the temple and its worship as well as the prophets that were active during his reign. For the most part these records were copied from the sources he possessed and our record does not contain the author's judgment, so what we have is just a replica of narrative and biographical writings which were preserved from the early monarchy and were united during the exile into one complete history.

In this same spirit we have Deuteronomy revised and readjusted during our period. It was "enlarged by the addition of chapters 1-4, an historical, and 5-11, a hortatory introduction; also by chapters 27-29, 10; chapters 31 to 34 being added after the exile."²

Further literary production is that of the book of Judges which is now virtually as it was written, except for the later addition of chapters 17-21. The book "consists of three unequal and dissimilar sections; 1, Chapters 1-2:5, introduction; the partial conquest of Canaan by the Hebrew tribes; 2, Chapters 17-21, an appendix, containing othe stories

1. Gray, Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 82.

2. McCurdy, History of Prophecy, Vol. 3, p. 386.

of which were the...
the...
they were used as a...
every...
of the...
which received only...
however, some...
known in literature...
It is interesting to note the...
record of the reign of the...
thing is to...
of that...
word...
the...
also...
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In this...
during...
historical...
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Further...
not...
12-13...
1...
known...

of the premonarchic period."¹

The book of Joshua which deals with the western conquest of Canaan and the division of the land among the twelve tribes came out of the exilic period as well. The book may be briefly summarized in three sections: 1, Chapters 1-12, conquest of Western Canaan; 2, Chapters 13-21, the division of the conquered land among the twelve tribes; 3, Chapters 22-24, the conclusion where Joshua sends the people to their homes with his blessing and his death and burial.

"The main stages in the compilation of the book of Joshua were probably the following: The narratives of 'J' and 'E' as combined by their Redactor, were used by the Redactor of D, though 'J' may have been used apart from the combined form. The redactor of D selected, expanded, and added to the narrative of the conquest, so producing a Deuteronomistic book of Joshua. The third redactional stage came when this was combined with P by the Priestly Redactor (500)."²

One can say something similar of Samuel, the Deuteronomic form of which may be found by taking away the Song of Hannah and chapter 22 of the second book, which are of later dates. The work of the final editor here is chiefly like that of Kings - a compiler. "His own contributions, aside from the arrangement of the material in a chronological framework, appear in the didactic sections, which are intended to enforce the prophetic truths current in this later age, and which are easily recognized because of their peculiarities of style and thought."³

1. Gray, Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 59.

2. Robinson, W. H., Deuteronomy and Joshua, p. 258.

3. Kent, A History of the Jewish People, p. 62-63.

of the present period.

The book of James which deals with the western concept of James

and the division of the land among the twelve tribes came out of the

early period as well. The book may be briefly summarized in three sections:

1. Chapters 1-12, account of James' journey; 2. Chapters 13-22, the

division of the captured land among the twelve tribes; 3. Chapters 23-24,

the conclusion where James sends the people to their homes with the bless-

ing and his death and burial.

The main stages in the compilation of the book of James are

probably the following: The narratives of '1' and '2' as combined by their

redactor, were used by the redactor of '3' though '1' may have been used

apart from the combined form. The redactor of '3' selected, expanded, and

added to the narrative of the journey, as indicated by the redactionistic

book of James. The third redactional stage was when this was combined

with '4' by the final redactor (200).

One can say something similar of Daniel, the Talmudic form of

which may be found by taking away the part of Daniel and chapter 12 of

the second book, which are of later date. The work of the final editor

here is chiefly like that of Kings - a compiler. "His own contribution is

added from the arrangement of the material in a chronological framework,

appear in the biblical sections, which are intended to enforce the prop-

hecy which occurs in this later age, and which are easily recognized

because of their peculiarities of style and thought."

1. Gray, Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 12.

2. Robinson, W. B. Ebers, Prophecy and History, p. 12.

3. History of the Jewish People, p. 12-13.

Poetical Output

Thus far we have viewed the prophetical, the legal, and the historical output of the exilic period, now we turn our attention toward the poetical work as we find it embodied in the book of Lamentations and the Psalms. The Lamentations are the best known of ancient elegiac poems and contain five chapters in all. Their chief value, as we have already seen, is that they give us a picture of the destruction and desolation of Jerusalem from the pen of one who witnessed its destruction. "There is in them no single complete picture or representation. They are a stream of ejaculatory reflections, whose note is that of breaking waves rather than that of a running brook. Yet the total conception of the subject which we gain from them is fairly complete, because every one of the poems touches upon all the phases of the great catastrophe."¹

First let us look at their literary form which reveals that "the first, second, and fourth poems each contain twenty-two verses, each verse is introduced by its appropriate letter, beginning with the first letter of the alphabet and closing with the last. In the first and second chapters each verse contains three lines, while in chapter four each contains two lines. In chapter three there are thirty-three verses, each containing one line; but each letter of the alphabet is thrice repeated in successive groups of three verses. The fifth poem contains twenty-two verses, but is not alphabetic in structure."²

The poems reveal three distinct sets of conditions which describe:
1, the cities' condition, 2, the temple's condition, 3, the survivors of

1. McCurdy, History, Prophecy, and the Monuments, p. 293-294.

2. Peake, A. S., Jeremiah and Lamentations, Vol. 2, p. 289.

the siege. One finds little space devoted to their sufferings during the siege (1:11, 19; 2:11, 19; 4L3-9) and little space devoted to the terror that must have accompanied the siege (2:12, 20: 2:11). The major concern is about the ruin and profanation of the temple, the humiliation to the followers of Jehovah, and His relationship to His people. Indeed this book could well fit into our Psalter and many believe that it would be there now except for its early attachment to Jeremiah; but that he wrote it has long since been disproven.

The authorship and date of the poems have been greatly debated, at present it is believed that chapters two and four may be assigned to about 573 B. C. and were probably the work of one author. Chapter three, because of its artificial structure has been assigned to about 573 B. C. and was probably the work of one author. Chapter one has a variety of opinions concerning it, but scholarship as a rule assigns it to a date shortly after the return under Cyrus and this same period has been attached to chapter five.¹

We now turn our attention to the most beautiful literary section of the Old Testament, the Psalter. Here in order to clearly understand the reason for writing of the Psalms, let us view them as a product of an intense and deep religious life, such as most of our choicest hymns are, and we can readily see how a period such as this one would give rise to such poems. It is true many of the Psalms were for liturgical purposes but the most vital and sacred Psalms came out of a period of intense and deep religious life and this exilic period seems to have been very pro-

1. Abingdon Bible Commentary, p. 709.

ductive. Of the 150 Psalms we find that approximately twenty-eight have been assigned to the exile and the period closely following the exile so we can see that this was a period of intense religious feeling. The twenty-eight Psalms are: 8, 22, 27, 51, 56, 57, 59, 69, 71, 74, 77, 79, 80, 84, 89, 90, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 102, 114, 126, 138, 137.¹

1. These Psalms were chosen after a study of Creelman, Abingdon, and Kirkpatrick.

III

The Indelible Imprint of the Diaspora

Israel's Genius The two most significant movements in the history of the Hebrews are the movements into Canaan and the exile, which we are now studying. This is true because of the profound effects that they had in molding their later life, especially their religious life. It is true that their life was otherwise altered by these movements, but as far as the Hebrews are concerned all their genius was in their religion. Therefore it seems logical to close this discussion with a survey of this element of their life, because if one should ask the supreme product of the Hebrews the answer would undoubtedly come back, their profound religious experience and passionate interest in social justice. In view of this the deportations which took place in the early part of the sixth century would become of extraordinary significance for their religious life. The usual result of such an exile had been complete disintegration of those who were deported, but not so with these people. The exiles maintained a vital interest in their homeland, which to them was sacred and instead of sacrificing their sacred past they kept it and used it to prepare for a better future inculcating those elements of their new eastern environment which would be the most helpful. The people who returned from the exile had been changed, greatly changed, from those who went into the exile; but this newness of life was vital and destined to make a new Israel.

"The most significant change produced by the exile arose in the fact that the people, being obliged to give up the performance of their ceremonies and customs, were constrained to preserve them for future generations

The Jewish Impact of the Diaspora

Jewish's Goals

The two most significant movements in the history of the Jewish people are the movements into Babylon and the exile, which are now speaking. This is true because of the spiritual efforts that they had in building their later life, especially their religious life. It is true that their life was subjected to many hardships, but as far as the Jewish was concerned all their efforts were in their religious. Therefore it seems logical to also take them into account with a survey of this element of their life, because it was through the various hardships of the Jewish the answer would undoubtedly come from, which provided religious experience and practical instruction in Jewish history. In view of this the description which took place in the early part of the exile certainly would become of extraordinary significance for Jewish religious life. The usual result of such an exile had been complete disintegration of those who were deported, but not so with these people. The exiles maintained a vital interest in their homeland, which is what was desired and instead of forgetting their native land they kept it and used it as a spring for a better future. In fact, those elements of their new environment which would be the most helpful. The people who returned from the exile had been changed, greatly changed, from those who went into the exile; and this because of life was vital and destined to take a new turn. The new spiritual energy provided by the exile was in the fact that the people, being obliged to give up the comforts of their native land and persons, were compelled to preserve their own religious

in literary form. In the process of describing their ancient usages, they interpreted and rationalized them. The agricultural festivals were given a national and historical significance. The cultus of the temple, which had been observed by the initiated priesthood as a technique of worship, was now elaborated, reinterpreted, given a new theological significance. And the whole body of ancient law was codified and reorganized with reference to the establishment of a religious community in Palestine when the exiles should be able to return."¹ And further, side by side all of this, the steady and inspiring voice of prophecy rang out. However things did not go as smoothly as some would have liked, because there were great obstacles to be overcome. The people for a while must have felt that their very existence was soon to become a thing of the past because all that had distinguished Israel as a people had been stripped away, their entire political existence was gone, their temple was gone, but it was, as McCurdy has said, "Only 'Israel' itself was left, to test the voluntary principles pure and simple in religion and morals."²

Monotheism Probably one of the most significant problems of the exile was that of Jehovah's relation to his people in this strange land. The supreme calamity came when the people were not restored to their homeland as soon as they desired and Jerusalem was finally destroyed. All that had made life significant was gone and now the question arose as to whether their God was worthy of their respect, indeed, they questioned whether he ever had been. Their God had failed them but the Babylonian gods were helping their people. What about Jehovah?

1. Soares, Social Institutions of the Bible, p. 23-24.

2. Kent, A History of the Jewish People, p. 94.

Herein laid the great hope of the prophets who had truly foretold events; herein was their real chance to put over their final message. For two or three centuries the true prophets had been condemning idolatry and claiming that other gods were only tools of the great God Jehovah. For centuries these same prophets had been foretelling the coming exile and now that it had come the true prophets rose to a new position and the people began to heed their cries, so when they began to claim for Jehovah a place supreme above all gods the highest note of Monotheism had been struck.

Previous to the destruction they had thought of Jehovah merely as a God of Israel in a narrow sense, he was only a local god. But as the exile lengthened out they began to feel that their God was as much in Babylon as in Judah, in fact, more so, because the God of righteousness could not dwell in a corrupt city such as Jerusalem; but still they must have questioned. It was a new conception and rather hard to accept at first. Could their God dwell in a foreign land where he could not be worshipped? Then they began to feel as the disciples of Jesus must have felt after Jesus had been crucified, that he still lived. They knew because they had felt Him and they had sensed His power. Another question arose, why, then, did he allow his people to be taken into exile, and as they thought about it they realized that their present plight had been foretold by his prophets long before only they would not heed their cry. They may have even reasoned in this interesting fashion: "Might not such a God, who evidently has an interest in Babylon, wield some power also in Babylonia, or possibly even over Babylonia? Surely. Did not Jeremiah, whom we thought a fanatic and a traitor, always say that Nebuchadrezzar was the servant of Jehovah? So far, at least, he spoke the truth. Here

Herod said the great hope of the prophets was that they would
find evidence; Herod was really very anxious to get over their lives
for the of these prophets and the prophets had been condemning idolatry
and claiming that their gods were only idols of the great God Jehovah.
For centuries these same prophets had been fulfilling the words of
and now that it had come the time prophets there is a new position and the
people began to doubt their words, so when they began to claim for Jehovah
a place between above all gods the highest name of the prophets had been
struck.

There was in the Jerusalem they had thought of Jehovah merely
as a God of Israel in a narrow sense, he was only a tribal God. But as
the exile deepened and they began to feel that their God was as much
in Babylon as in Israel, in fact, more so, because the God of righteousness
could not dwell in a corrupt city such as Jerusalem; but still they must
have questioned. It was a new conception and rather hard to accept at
first. Could their God dwell in a foreign land where he could not be
worshipped? Then they began to feel as the disciples of Jesus must have
felt after Jesus had been crucified, that he still lived. They knew he
came back and told them and they had named him Jesus. Another question
arose, why, then, did he allow his people to be taken into exile, and as
they thought about it they realized that their present plight had been
foretold by the prophets long before only they would not heed their cry.
They may have even remained in this interesting position until now and
a God, who evidently has an interest in Babylon, who is now power also
in Babylon, or possibly even over Babylonian idols. Did not Jeremiah
show us through a Lament and a psalm, always say that Babylonian
was the servant of Jehovah? So far, so good, he said the truth. There

we are, as he foretold, without a temple, our altars, or vine and fig trees. But Jeremiah said, and Ezekiel says, that this is only a part of his work, that in the fulness of time, but not at once, He will restore us to our land and our city. We have been forced to believe the harder part of the prediction. Perhaps the easier part may also come to pass. But only so if our God is here with us." This experience was exceedingly painful, but valuable, and through such reasoning they came to realize that they as a people were only one among many; but that their God ruled over all mankind. "They saw for the first time that they were unique among the nations simply because of their unique relation to the God of the universe. That relation, in turn, was the result of no worthy action on their part, but simply of Jehovah's choice. Thus was begotten in the minds of the thoughtful that attitude of genuine humility which comes from appreciating facts as they are, and such is the necessary pre-requisite of true development and service."¹

Undoubtedly this process took a long time because there must have been some who were beyond the reach of persuasion, others probably fell into the Babylonian worship, but that the strongest element of the people gradually accepted the new monotheistic conception cannot be doubted. This education was slow, but for that reason it was all the surer and more thorough.

1. Kent, A History of the Jewish People, p. 96.

we are, as the Committee, without a remedy, our silence, or view and life
treat. But I am not sure, that this is only a part of
the work, that in the future of time, but not at once, we will realize
as we have found our duty. We have been forced to believe the matter
part of the prediction. Perhaps the matter may also come to pass.
But only so it can be to have with us. This experience was undoubtedly
painful, but valuable, and the work even revealing they came to realize
that they as a people were only one small way; but that they had failed
over all manner. They saw for the first time that they were judges
among the nations simply because of their own relation to the God of
the universe. That relation, in turn, was the result of no earthly action
on their part, but simply of God's choice. Thus was revealed in the
eyes of the thoughtful and sincere people the reality which they were
experiencing. Thus as they saw, that such is the necessary pre-
condition of true development and growth.
Undoubtedly this process took a long time because hearts must have
been made who were beyond the reach of persuasion, others probably fell
into the Babylonian error, but that the strongest element of the people
gradually accepted the new humanitarian conception was to be desired.
This education was slow, but for that reason it was all the more and more
thorough.

Missionary Vocation While these new conceptions of Jehovah were entering into the very life of this new Israel a deeper and more profound thought was passing through. This broader outlook which the captivity affords "opened new vistas of spiritual insight . . . before the eyes of the prophets."¹ As the Hebrews conceived Yahweh to be the supreme ruler of the world their thoughts must have flowed into that greater belief that He needed someone to carry Him out to this world. Undoubtedly this universal idea had been expressed before the exile, but it never gripped their imagination with such fervor as it did during the exile.

The beacon of universalism and Israel's missionary vocation was Deutero-Isaiah, his writings became their steady light. He saw that a universal God could not restrict himself to a single race, but He would undoubtedly choose a certain race to carry His moral character and unity out into the other races. Insofar as Israel thought themselves the chosen people, chosen through election to service, they were right; but they had not been chosen in a selfish way. "It is too light a thing that thou shouldst be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel. I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the ends of the earth."² Thus Israel was to be the missionary of the world, including the Gentiles in its scope. Hence it now became impossible for the Israelites to view the heathen as an object of divine vengeance. "Instead of constantly brooding upon their own wrongs, they began to think of Jehovah's relation to the peoples about them, and then of the role which they, as his chosen people, were called to

1. Wallis, Sociological Study of the Bible, p. 206.

2. Isaiah 49:6.

Missionary Position

While there has been much talk of mission work entering into the very life of this new Israel a deeper and more profound thought was passing through. This profound outlook which the apostle affords "opened new vistas of spiritual insight . . . before the eyes of the prophets." In the Hebrew canonized books to be the express major of the world their thoughts must have flowed into that greater belief that the needed answers to carry this out to this world. Undoubtedly this universal idea had been expressed before the exile, but it never gripped their imagination with such fervor as it did during the exile.

The dream of universalism and Israel's missionary vocation was fostered in the writings of the prophets. He saw that universal God could not restrict himself to a single race, but he would undoubtedly choose a certain race to carry the word of God and bring out into the other races. Israel as Israel thought themselves the chosen people, chosen for high election to service, they were right; but they had not been chosen in a selfish way. "It is too light a thing that thou shouldst be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel. I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles: that thou mayest be my servant unto the ends of the earth."¹ Thus Israel was to be the missionary of the world, including the Gentiles in the scope. Hence it now became impossible for the Israelites to view the Gentiles as an object of divine vengeance. "Instead of animosity breeding upon their own wrongs, they began to think of Jehovah's selection as the peoples whom they, and them of the role which they, as His chosen people, were called to

enact in the realizing of the divine purpose in human history."¹

The question next arose as to how they were to get their message across to the heathen. The answer seems to be in Deutero-Isaiah when he said, "he shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street . . . he shall bring forth judgment of truth."² They were called on to carry Jehovah to the people through the great virtue, Truth, and that they were to live and when they were returned to their homeland they would bear witness for Yahweh. "Just as the Son of God was glorified by Lazarus raised from the dead (John 11:4), just as Saint Paul's highest commendation was in the persons of the Corinthian Christians (II Corinthians 3:2), so Israel restored was to be the witness to the power and fidelity of Yahweh: 'I have declared, and I have saved, and I have shown - and there was no strange God with you - therefore ye are my witnesses, saith Yahweh, and I am God.' (Isaiah 43:12)."³

However as time went on Israel was to become an active force for their God to the world. Eventually the Gentiles would seek to find Yahweh and they would come to Israel, "they shall fall down unto thee, they shall make supplication unto thee, saying, Surely God is in thee."⁴ "Then it will be the duty of Israel to admit these Gentiles into the holy commonwealth. And then also there will be opportunity for Israel who has learnt such lessons in the days of their affliction, to teach and help those Gentiles who come."⁵ "The Lord Yahweh hath given me the tongue of them that are taught, that I should know how to sustain (or 'to teach') the weary with words."⁶

1. Kent, A History of the Jewish People, p. 97.

3. Browne, Early Judaism, p. 23.

5. Browne, Early Judaism, p. 23-24.

2. Isaiah 42:2

4. Isaiah 45:14

6. Isaiah 50:4

... in the dwelling of the living God is found always.

The question next arises as to how they were to get their message

out to the people. The answer seems to be in the following words of

God, "I shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause my voice to be heard in

the street. . . . I shall bring forth judgment in silence."

Called as to every Jew as the people through the great silence, truth,

and that they were to live and work they were referred to their conscience

they would hear witness for Jesus. "That as men of God and prophets

of former times (John 1:19), just as John the Baptist

was in the presence of the Christian Church (II Cor. 11:23)

as Jesus testified was to be the witness to the great and mighty of

Jesus: "I have declared, and I have borne witness, and there was

no change in me - therefore ye are my witnesses, before the world, and

I am God." (John 8:18)

However, as time went on Israel was to become an active force for

God in the world. "Therefore the Gentiles would seek to find Jesus

and they would come to Israel, they shall fall down and say, they shall

make supplications unto thee, saying, surely God is in thee." (John 11:9)

With us the story of Israel as a nation begins with the birth of Jesus

Christ. And then also there will be a preparation for Israel who has

lacked much persons in the days of their affliction, as people and help

these Gentiles who come. "The Lord Jesus will give us the power of

them that are living, that I should know how to maintain the cause"

the very old words.

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- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| 1. John, 1:19-20 | 2. John, 1:19-20 |
| 3. John, 1:19-20 | 4. John, 1:19-20 |
| 5. John, 1:19-20 | 6. John, 1:19-20 |

Individualism During this great reformation another advance was made in their religious life - an advance which carried on with Jeremiah's individuality in religion. Individualism was made more acute when the people faced this long period of suffering in a strange land, personal trial brought them all nearer to God. The community or the nation had hitherto claimed that Jehovah was a national God, it was there that His attention was centered and not so much upon the individual. "The ties that bound God and people together were the national modes of outward worship, tending to uniformity and finally unified in the reform of Josiah. Thus Deuteronomy, while promoting individualism by inculcating holiness toward God, actually prejudiced it by concentration of worship and the wide extension of a single type of ritual."¹ The renewal of the Deuteronomic Code was in behalf of and for the nation. Thus the revelation came to them when they realized that Jehovah was still their God even though they were in Babylon, but here there must be a different relationship.

Here the people were in a new state, their previous modes of attaining Jehovah's favor could no longer be practiced, but yet He seemed to be with them. This feeling of his presence is what brought about their reflection upon the new situation. Their thought could easily have been such as McCurdy suggests: "The nation is gone: then Jehovah must be something more than the God of the nation. The tribes, clans, families, are all broken up: then He is not merely a God of tribes and families. Then he must be my own God."² They now began to sense the thrill of

1. McCurdy, History, Prophecy, and the Monuments, Vol. 3, p. 371.

2. Ibid., p. 372.

...and the great revelation in the history of the world was made in their religious life - an experience which carried on with themselves individually in relation. Individualism was made more acute when the people found this long period of waiting in a strange land, overseas trial brought them all nearer to God. The community of the nation had already decided that Jehovah was a national God, it was there that the attention was centered and not so much upon the individual. "The time had come when God and people together were the national value of outward worship, feeling its unity and finally united to the nation of Israel. Then, however, while growing individualism by individual religious fervor and, actually prohibited it by concentration of worship and the idea of a single type of ritual." The removal of the Babylonians from was in part of and for the nation. Thus the revelation came to them when they realized that Jehovah was still their God even though they were in Babylon, but here there was a different relationship. Here the people were in a new state, their worship was no longer Jehovah's favor could no longer be purchased, but yet he seemed to be with them. This feeling of his presence is what brought about their reflection upon the new situation. Their thought could really have been such as strongly suggested: "The nation is gone: then Jehovah must be something more than the God of the nation. The nation, alone, forsaken, are all broken up: then he is not merely a God of nation and nation. Then we must be the new God." They now began to realize the truth of

having a God personally interested in them. To be true, the prophets had sensed this, but never before had this deep spiritual relation with God as an individual been realized.

Ezekiel was the great champion of individualism in the exile, his vivid and ample illustration made a weightier impression than any before him. We begin to sense this when we read: "Behold, all souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine."¹ They must have felt nearer to God and also received a clearer conception of their responsibility as an individual because of Ezekiel. Freedom of a new type must have been sensed when he said that the children should not suffer for the sins of their fathers, that every man died for his own sins, and every man lived because of his own righteousness. He may have been too extreme in his freedom of the nation from sin, but that he struck a new and a clearer note of individualism is the vital element of his teachings which were a product of his environment, the exile.

Synagogue and Sabbath While these internal problems were being fought out there were problems which one might call external facing them, the main ones were the problems of a Sabbath and a place to worship. They did not have a temple in which to worship nor did their times of worship coincide with those of their new land; but in the face of this they needed to have both of these things. As the case always has been when there is need of a solution it generally is found and thus was the case with these people.

The Babylonians also had a Sabbath, or a holy day, only theirs was not regulated by the change of the moon such as the Hebrews was, but occurred every seven days irrespective of the position of the moon. The natural thing for the Hebrews to do under these conditions was to adopt the same Sabbath days which the Babylonians kept so the seventh, fourteenth, twenty- (See page 115 for footnote 1)

first, and twenty-eighth days of the month were kept. And the activities of the two peoples on these days held some resemblance as well, to the other, the Babylonians being practically a fast day and this element did enter into the Hebrews because it became more and more a day of rest and abstinence. However it was more than this, it soon took on a religious significance which it had hitherto not possessed. Undoubtedly at the early part of the exile they gathered and did as the Babylonians, but as time went on they began to gather together, not only to offer atoning sacrifices, but also to read and study the sacred books which they possessed. Out of this arose the Synagogue with its service of prayer, public and private, reading and expounding of the scriptures. Each person now became, what might be termed, a priest, presenting his own offerings, and praises to Jehovah. "The need of such communion was certainly never in the history of the Hebrew race felt more keenly. Thus, while the Babylonian exile was a period of sorrow and doubt, it was also one of rapid change and progress; as the dangers which confronted the Jews multiplied, so did their opportunities; the nation of peasants had been projected into the great stream of the world, and thereby an entirely new epoch in their development was inaugurated."²

1. Ezekiel 18:4

2. Kent, A History of the Jewish People, p. 44.

IV

Summary

Our first step in this study was to examine all of the available primary sources and classify them according to their value. In doing so we divided them into three categories: 1, The Biblical sources, 2, the archaeological data, and 3, the ancient histories. We saw in the Biblical Material that the Book of Kings, written by someone who lived in Babylon during the exile previous to 538 B. C., was our first primary source. The Book of Jeremiah, largely written first about 604, but destroyed, and rewritten shortly after, was another valuable source. The Book of Ezekiel, from the pen of the priest Ezekiel, was also written in the early part of the exile in Babylon. The chapters in the Book of Isaiah known as Deutero-Isaiah (40-45) also come out of the land of Babylon somewhere near the close of the exile, probably from the earlier years of the rise of Cyrus. Then a valuable book, though short, which was written shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586, is Lamentations which gives us the life in Palestine immediately following 586 B. C. A group of books: Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, from the pen of the Chronicler about 300 B. C. throws some light, however meagre, back upon our century. The author tends to idealize the past and fails to give us reliable historical material. However, we do find in Haggai and Zechariah I-VIII valuable historical material, covered by the Chronicler, which gives us the life of the Jewish community in Palestine during the years of reconstruction (536-516 B. C.). After the completion of the temple we have no literature and the period from 516 to 444 is one of darkness into which we believe Isaiah 56-66 (Trito-Isaiah) and Malachi

Our first step in this study was to examine all of the available primary sources and identify those pertaining to their writer. In doing so we divided these into three categories: 1. The historical sources, 2. The archaeological data, and 3. The modern historical. We say in the historical material that the book of Kings, written by someone who lived in Babylon during the exile provides for 2K1 1. 1., was our first primary source. The book of Jeremiah, largely written from about 605, but also copied, and rewritten shortly after, was another valuable source. The book of Isaiah, from the end of the exile period, was also written in the early part of the exile in Babylon. The account in the book of Isaiah known as Isaiah-Lament (33-39) also came out of the land of Babylon some time after the close of the exile, probably from the earlier years of the time of exile. From a valuable book, though short, which was written shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586, in Jerusalem which gives us the life in Jerusalem immediately following 586 B. C. A group of books: Lamentations, Jeremiah, and the book of the Lamentations (33-39) B. C. provide some light, however meagre, from that century. The author tends to idealize the past and fails to give an realistic picture of the actual. However, we do find in Isaiah and Jeremiah - with valuable historical material, covered by the Lamentations which gives us the life of the Jewish community in Jerusalem during the years of reconstruction (520-515 B. C.). After the completion of the temple we have no literature and the period from 515 to 458 is one of darkness and which we believe (Isaiah 33-39) and Isaiah

do fit. These two sections of prophecy, to be sure, lead us into the life of the earlier years of the fifth century; but their value to us is that they reflect the life of the period immediately following the completion of the temple (516) to the end of our century (500).

The Archaeological data largely strengthens the Biblical material which we possess. These data briefly are: 1, a tablet from Necho of Egypt (609-593 B. C.), the Pharaoh of Egypt who slew King Josiah at Megiddo; 2, Several building inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar and only one relatively unimportant account of his military campaigns; 3, An inscription on an alabaster vase found at Susa from the palace of Evil - Merodach (562-560 B. C.); 4, The great Nabonidus Chronicle from Nabonidus (555-538 B. C.), King of Babylon, which records the capture of Babylon by Cyrus; 5, The Cyrus Cylinder, one of the most important inscriptions, which also records the capture and treatment of Babylon by their new ruler Cyrus; and 6, the Elephantine Papyri found in 1895 at Elephantine on the Nile, which dates from 495-400 B. C. Their value to us is that they in part refer to and in part reflect the life of the sixth century.

The two ancient histories which we possess are Herodotus and Josephus. Both of them are valuable, but that of Herodotus is by far the most important. Although he mixes mythology and superstition with history, we can with critical study choose the reliable historical data woven into his writings.

From this analysis of the source material we began our survey of the sixth century with a preliminary study of the melting pot of the ancient world. Just before the dawn of the sixth century internal unrest was rapidly bringing the downfall of the great Assyrian Empire. Egypt was endeavoring to ~~make~~ a return among the nations by supporting anyone

that she thought would further her cause; but the once powerful Egypt was rapidly passing into oblivion. Babylonia was looming up on the horizon as the bright star of the east, but its glory was only to last a few short years; because a mightier was to come embodied in the great Cyrus. The remnant of the once powerful Hebrew Kingdom was struggling to eke out an existence among the nations against great odds. Into such turmoil and stress as this we find the sixth century B. C. ushered.

In the year 605 B. C. Nebuchadrezzar with his Babylonian army defeated the combined Assyro-Egyptian army at Carchemish and this set up Babylonia as the ruler of the near East. Nebuchadrezzar then reigned over his kingdom in comparative peacefulness. The small kingdom of Judah during this period was passing through anything but a peaceful period. She was of course a vassal state of Babylonia but owing to the strong influence of the pro-Egyptian party an anti-Babylonian revolt was instigated under Jehoiakim and Zedekiah which finally brought about her downfall. The Jews were deported to Babylon in 597 and 586 leaving the land in a poor condition in regard to population. Jeremiah, however, was active during all these years and continually struggled to show his people that a revolt would only end in disaster, but all in vain. He did his best to convince the influential leaders of this, but the opposition was too strong. We have reasons to believe that Zedekiah was of the same belief as Jeremiah, but he was too strongly influenced by the revolting party and his character was unstable. However, after the first deportation Jeremiah continued his efforts to have the people settle down and submit to the Babylonian rule, but the result of this was for him only severe persecution and misuse. The exiles held great hopes for a return in the near future, but he discouraged such a prospect. Con-

tinued unrest in Palestine again brought the Babylonian troops, and this second visit left Palestine in ruins and many more of her people were carried away captive to Babylonia.

After this final fall of Jerusalem Gedaliah, a close friend of Jeremiah, was appointed governor by Nebuchadrezzar. This rulership was not to last because Ishmael, a member of the royal house, murdered Gedaliah with the intention of setting up a monarchy again under support of the king of Ammon. The plan ended in failure while Ishmael fled to the security of the court of the Ammonites. Johanan and his followers, fearing that Babylonia would endeavor to revenge Gedaliah's murder fled into Egypt taking Jeremiah with them even though he protested.

The Jews who were deported to Babylon evidently did not find life so difficult; because there are good reasons to believe that they were permitted a great deal of freedom. They settled in several different sections, had freedom of intercourse, were permitted to follow their own choice as to making a livelihood which for the most part coincided with their previous occupation in their homeland. From Ezekiel's writings we see that the "ancient position of the elders of the people was recognized; from this it would follow that families and clans lived together much in the same way as had been the case in Palestine; this would have been a potent means of preserving the sense of nationality and of keeping up religious beliefs and practices."¹ (See page 120 for this footnote).

Their hopes for a return were strong and were probably kept alive by several factors: 1, the siege of Tyre, 2, unrest in countries bordering Egypt, and in Egypt herself, because of a change of dynasty, 3, Nebuchadrezzar's campaign against Egypt in 568 B. C.; 4, the death of Nebuchadrezzar in 562 B. C.; 5, the revolution which followed, together with the gradual decay of Babylonian control; and 6, the appearance of

Cyrus in 559 B. C. and his growth in power. Out of each of these movements they hoped for the downfall of Babylonia. It has been well said that the exiles' hatred for Babylonia was much greater than Babylonia's treatment of them deserved.

The principal Jewish settlements in Egypt were: Migdol, Taphanes, Memphis, Pathros, and Elephantine. They probably had much freedom of living because they built houses, bought land, carried on various forms of business, and maintained their worship as they desired. The Jewish remnant in Egypt is a grave disappointment when we look to them for perpetuation of true Yahweh worship. They did worship Yahweh (Yahu), but at the same time they worshipped other gods and it also seems that they had female deities.

Life in Palestine during these years must have been exceedingly unpleasant. The country was weakened because of lack of good Jewish soldiers, who had been deported; and as a result of this many attacks were probably staged by the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites. Thus the Jewish community in the earlier years following the fall of Jerusalem suffered from the inroads of neighboring peoples.

The dilapidated condition of Jerusalem and the Temple did not prevent it from continuing as the religious center, even though, the religious and moral conditions of the people were in a melancholy state. However all of these depressed feelings must have disappeared when news of the great conqueror Cyrus began to be heard. Great hope for a brighter future aroused a newness of life and a nation was once again visioned.

Cyrus had appeared as a new force in 559 B. C. when he ascended

1. Oesterley and Robinson, A History of Israel, Vol. 2, p. 42.

Given to him by the State in 1880, but he never used it.

He was a very good man, and he was a very good man.

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his father's throne as king of Anshan. He started a series of campaigns that carried him from the ruler of his insignificant kingdom to the rulership of the near east. Many alliances were formed to prevent his march to power, but all failed. His conquest of Babylonia was greatly facilitated by the unpopularity of Nabonidus, the last king of the Babylonian empire. The policy of Cyrus was a new one in dealing with his conquered people. He would allow them great freedom in both governmental and religious matters. The latter is shown by his permission accorded to the exiled Jews to return to their homeland. His conquest of Egypt was never to be realized, because he was killed in battle, (529 B. C.) before he had a chance to go southward to them.

Cyrus was indeed the greatest of all generals in history until Alexander the Great, and it was as a strategist and a commander of troops that we best remember him. He must have had a high moral character, and his governing of the conquered peoples showed great wisdom. However, the one thing for which we remembered him in this paper is his tolerance of the religious faiths of his subjects; because he did not endeavor to stamp his religion on a people, but, on the contrary, he encouraged and strengthened their particular religion as much as possible.

Cyrus, upon conquering Babylon in 537-536 B. C. issued a decree permitting the return of the exiles to Jerusalem. Sheshbazzar then gathered a group for the homeland and set out. They found the temple still standing, though in a dilapidated condition. Worship was carried on in a very feeble style. The exiles, for some reason, joined with the residents of Palestine and made little progress at rebuilding their Temple, probably because they were of the poorer class and lacked the necessary funds. This condition continued for a number of years, in

his father's firm as that of a man. He started a series of lectures
and carried the first of his lectures to the inter-
city of the west. They attracted very few to attend the series
of lectures, but all failed. His treatment of Babylon was greatly appre-
ciated by the majority of scholars, the first of the Babylonian
series. The policy of the series was to deal with the Babylonian
people. He was able to find traces in both governments and in-
ligious matters. The letters he wrote by the series were recorded in the
series from the series to their knowledge. His treatment of Babylon was never
to be repeated, because he was killed in battle, (1875 B.C.) before he
had a chance to go to the series.

Qutay was raised the greatest of all generals in history until
Alexander the Great, and it was as a strategist and a commander of troops
that he was remembered. He was not a high moral character, but
his courage of the series was great. He was a great warrior.
The series for which he remembered him in this series is the Babylonian
of the religious series of his subjects; because he did not understand the
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fact, until about 520 when the religious leaders in Babylon, Haggai and Zechariah with Zerubbabel and Joshua began their task of rebuilding the Temple and accomplished their purpose. The foundations of the Temple were laid in 520 B. C., and the Temple was completed in 516 B. C.

Following 516, the date of rebuilding the Temple, we have little material to tell us of the life in Palestine. From 516 B. C. to 444 B. C. we have only three written documents, a part of Isaiah (56-66) Obadiah and Malachi, all of which are from the fifth century. During this period the people lived on good terms with their neighbors and harmony existed in Palestine. The Temple services were celebrated, but as enthusiasm of the task just completed began to die, corruption, low morals, and crime began to set in, which dominated the next century until the time of Ezra and Nehemiah.

The Exile was a period of great literary activity, perhaps the greatest in the history of Israel. This was partly due to the desire for written material of their past history and partly due to their environment. The main force behind this literary work was the priests who now were without an official position because of the loss of the Temple and sacrifice. The literary activity of the exile resulted in: 1, Prophetic literature; 2, Legal literature; 3, editing of the historical books; and 4, Poetical literature.

There were two schools working on this literary output. The first has been called the Deuteronomic school which viewed all of history as being interpreted in the light of the teachings of the laws of Deuteronomy. Calamities of the nation were viewed as a result of the nations sin, due to lapses into idolatry, and due to their failure to obey the requirements of the Deuteronomic reform.

The second school was the Sacerdotal school which viewed everything

that, until about 1910 when the religious leaders in Japan, Korea and
 Manchuria, the Japanese and Chinese began their work of re-education, the
 people had no organized social purpose. The foundation of the people
 was laid in 1910 B.C., and the people was organized in 1910 B.C.
 Following 1910, the date of re-education, the people, as we have
 material to tell us of the life in Manchuria. From 1910 B.C. to 1910 B.C.
 we have only three written documents, a part of which is 1910-1910 B.C.
 and 1910 B.C., all of which are from the 1910 century. During this period
 the people lived on food grown with their hands and they were
 in 1910 B.C. The people were very satisfied, but as we know
 of the last part of the 1910 century, the people, the people, the
 time began to be in, which showed the great change until the time of
 the end of the 1910 century.

The 1910 century was a period of great literary activity, perhaps the
 greatest in the history of Japan. This was partly due to the desire for
 written material of their past history and partly due to their environment.
 The main force behind this literary activity was the people who were
 without an official position because of the loss of the people and the
 1910 century. The literary activity of the 1910 century was: 1. Propaganda
 literature; 2. Legal literature; 3. History of the 1910 century;
 and 4. Political literature.

There were two schools working in this literary activity. The first
 was known as the 1910 century school which was the first of its kind.
 being interested in the life of the 1910 century of the last of the 1910 century.
 Leaders of the school were known as a result of the 1910 century, and
 to Japan this school, and the 1910 century school to give the 1910 century
 of the 1910 century.

The second school was the 1910 century school which was the 1910 century.

through the eyes of the priests who had lost their previous occupation of offering sacrifices.

The prophetic literature included the following: Certain sections of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah (Isaiah 40-55), Haggai, and Zechariah.

The legal literature, a result of the sacerdotal school, was the Code of Holiness, and the Priestly Code.

The historical books that were then edited, principally a product of the Deuteronomic school of historical writers, are: Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings.

The poetical output includes Lamentations and Psalms 8, 22, 27, 51, 56, 57, 59, 69, 71, 74, 77, 79, 80, 84, 89, 90, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 102, 114, 126, 138, 137.

To summarize briefly the profound impression that this dispersion had upon these people is a difficult thing, because the greatest of all effects cannot be accounted for; The spiritual growth of the people. Such cannot be weighed in material facts. However they did have a profound, intense spiritual development. One might therefore summarize what the exile did as follows:

- 1, It scattered the people, giving great impetus to the diaspora the influence of which has continued to this very day.
2. The nation lost its identity as far as political relationship goes and they have never again regained it.
3. They learned that their destiny was not political, but religious and moral.
4. They realized that their religion was to be individualistic and not primarily national.
5. There was an intense literary activity during the exile.

through the eyes of the writers who had their personal experience
of different countries.

The geographical literature included the following: certain sections
of travel, general, country-general (about 18-19), history, and geography.
The local literature, a result of the geographical aspect, was the
study of the country, and the history of the country.

The literary aspect was also included, particularly a product
of the literary aspect of the country, such as history, geography,
travel, and history.

The geographical aspect included literature and history, 18, 19, 20,
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It is important to note the progress of the country in the direction
and upon these points is a different one, because the progress of all
efforts cannot be understood for the political growth of the people.

There must be a change in the political system. However they did have a two-
fold, intense political development. The first, therefore, was the
the whole did as follows:

1. It was the people, having great freedom in the direction
the influence of which was continued to this very day.

2. The nation lost its identity as far as political relationship
and they have never again regained it.

3. They learned that their destiny was not political, but religious
and moral.

4. They realized that their religious was to be the foundation and
the primary national.

5. There was an intense literary activity during the whole.

6. They purged idolatry and sacred prostitution forever from their religion.
7. The Sabbath took on a new consolation.
8. The synagogue was developed at this time.
9. They became monotheists.
10. They realized, and I consider this one of their greatest achievements of this period, the universal sway of Jehovah and their missionary vocation.

6. They were not actually and never intended to be used for their

purpose.

7. The subject was not a new organization.

8. The purpose was not to be used for this time.

9. They were not intended to be.

10. They were not, and a number of the men of their present

employment of this service, the subject was not intended to be used for their

present purpose.

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